

1. "I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue; I will keep my mouth *with a bridle*.
2. "I was dumb with silence: I held my peace, *even from good*; and my sorrow was *stirred*.
3. "My heart was *hot within me*; while I was musing the *fire burned*."

PSALM XXXIX.



## TO MY READERS,

On the new Plan for publishing the REGISTER, and on the reasons for raising the Price to 1s. 2d.

Bolt-Court, Jan. 4, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

It is now *twenty-nine years* since I began the publication of this work, and, with the exception of the *ten weeks* that were required to take me to Long Island, in 1817, and to bring back the first REGISTER from LONG ISLAND, a REGISTER has been published by me every week for those *twenty-nine years*; during one year, when I was in prison, *two a week*; and, in the whole, *one thousand five hundred and forty-eight* REGISTERS; equal, even in quantity of print, to that number of *half-crown pamphlets*; and, during the time, though *two years in prison*, and nearly *three on the seas and in exile*, I have written and published other works consisting of 17 volumes, besides the carrying on of farming, gardening, tree-planting, and the rearing of trees for fruit as well as timber; and, during the same time, have had born to me a numerous family, *seven* of whom are still alive, four sons and three daughters, three of the sons having also each written and published books, and ably and learnedly written too. Of my *books* I shall say more hereafter. I shall first speak of my *intentions for the future*.

It was my intention to close the Register at the end of *thirty years*. I have expressed this intention many times. Then I intended to publish, as the work of *another year*, THE HISTORY OF MY LIFE; and then I

intended to go into Hampshire, there to cultivate a garden and a few fields to the end of my life, the close of which I hoped to pass amongst that class of society that I have always most loved and cherished, the people employed in the cultivation of the land. I have it rooted in me, that *happiness* and *riches* are seldom companions; I have seen too much of the misery and opprobrium attending the living upon the public money not to have long ago resolved never to pocket a single farthing of it; and as to what are called *honours*, they have always been with me objects of contempt. To *refuse to fill an office* and *exercise power*, if you be convinced that your doing it is for the *good of your country*, is to refuse to do *your duty*. I have, therefore, always been *ready*, and even anxious, to have power of this sort; and *I am so still*; but my *TASTE* lies the other way; and, if I have a wish more ardent than all others, it is this; that I, enjoying my garden and few fields, may see England as great in the world, and her industrious, laborious, kind and virtuous people as happy *as they were when I was born*; and that I may at last have a few years of calm at the close of this long life of storms and of tempests.

The intentions, expressed above, are changed only in two particulars; namely, that, instead of closing the Register at the end of THIS YEAR, to close it at the end of NEXT YEAR, and, instead of publishing the *history of my life* after the Register is closed, to publish it in numbers, and, as I proceed, *publish those numbers in the Register itself*; so that this work, which has produced so much effect in the world, which has recorded and treated of so many important events, may close with sending over the world the history of the man from whom the work has proceeded, in which history

the young men of our day will learn the means which enable men to make great and wonderful exertions. In the meanwhile, and until I begin publishing the history of my life, I shall publish in the *Register*, as fast as they are prepared, all the numbers successively of the *History of the Reign and Regency of George IV.* Every month, also, I publish in the *Register*, the "DEAR LITTLE TWO-PENNY TRASH." I shall publish both in the *book form* besides; but, I want them both to *fly over the world at once*, and produce their effect *as speedily as possible*. Thus will this *Register* contain *all*; yea, all that any man can want to know, relative to public affairs for the *thirty-one years*, beginning with January 1802, and ending with December, 1832. These two last *four volumes* (very thick) will contain a retrospect, and a *résumé* of the whole period; they will contain the *History of the Regency and Reign of George IV.*, all the *Monthly Two-penny Trashes* for the two years, and the *History of the life of the author*, besides the usual matter for the *Register*.

As to the *price*, it is absolutely necessary, in order to prevent me from *throwing away* two years of such enormous labour, which even I have not resolved upon until after long consideration. Here are sixty-four columns of print, containing more than a hundred and fifty pages of common print, and here is the *stamp* to clear the postage. I insert the *first Number of the History of George the Fourth in the present Register*, and I shall proceed with *one Number every week until that work be completed*, except the *Trash-Week*, which will come *once a month*; and, when *George the Fourth* is completed, I shall begin with *my own life* and go on with it in the same manner, until that be completed also. Such a thing, such labour, never was encountered before by any man; and I desire that it should be hereafter said of me, that the most laborious man that ever lived, was

WM. COBBETT.

N. B. The *History*, of which the following is the *first number*, is also published in *Numbers*, in the *book form*, price 6d. each Number.

No. I.

## HISTORY

OF THE

## REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

### INTRODUCTION.

*Sketch of the History of England, from the Protestant Reformation to the Regency of Geo. IV.*

1. THAT change in the religion of England, which took place in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and which is generally called the REFORMATION, has produced, in process of time, a still greater, and a most fatal, change in the nature of the English Government. Before that event, full one-third part, and indeed more, of the real property of the country belonged to the church; that is to say, it was held *in trust* by the clergy of different denominations, as bishops, priests, monks, nuns, &c., for the maintenance of religion, and for the relief of the poor and the stranger. These trustees were, therefore, in fact, the lords, or owners of something approaching to one-half of the whole of the houses and lands of England.

2. From the very nature of the Catholic institutions this state of things gave the common people great advantages, and in various ways, especially as it prevented them from being *borne down by the aristocracy*. Where there is an aristocracy who are hereditary lawgivers, and are sustained by a law of primogeniture, the commons, if left without some power to protect them against such an aristocracy, must, in the nature of things, be, whatever they may call themselves, the slaves of that aristocracy. This protection, the commons, or people, of England found in the Catholic church, which not only had an interest always opposed to the encroachments of the aristocracy, but which was, from the very nature of its institutions, the cause of a distribution of property favourable to the commons. In the first place it took a tenth part of the whole of the produce of the earth, and out of it relieved the wants of the poor, the aged, the widow, and the orphan: next, the celibacy of the clergy, that is of the great mass of landowners, necessarily took from them all motive for accumulating wealth, and caused them to distribute it, in some way or other, amongst the commons: next, the monastics, whose estates were immense, could possess no private property, and were, of course, easy landlords, let their lands at low rents, and on leases for lives, so that the renters were, in fact, pretty nearly the *proprietors*: one and the same family of farmers held the same farm for ages; and hence arose the term YEOMAN, which is re-

tained in our law-writs, but which has now no application. The nobility were compelled to follow, in this respect, the example of the church; and thus the commons were the *joint-proprietors*, in fact, of the whole country; they acknowledged the owner as *lord* of the soil; but they held the estates for lives; they had rents or fines to pay, at stated times, but with this reservation, the estates were theirs; they could not, like rack-renters, be turned out at the pleasure of the owner; and, of course, they were independent, free, and bold, just the reverse of the rack-renters of the present day. Another great cause of public happiness, arising out of this distribution of property, was, that those great landlords, the clergy, always, from the very nature of the institutions, resided in the midst of their estates, and, of course, expended their revenues there, returning to those who laboured the fair share of the fruits of their labour; and, though the aristocracy had no such positive ties with regard to residence, example must have had, in this respect also, great effect upon them.

3. The Reformation broke up this state of society in England; and it has, at last, produced that state which we now behold; a state of rack-renters, of paupers, and of an aristocracy making the laws and burdening the commons, or people, at their pleasure. The Reformation took from the church, that is, in fact, from the people at large, of whom the clergy were the trustees, all their share of the property of the country. If the makers of this Reformation had *divided this property amongst the people*; if they had sold it and applied the proceeds to the use of the nation at large, as was done by the makers of the *French Revolution* of 1789, there would have been no real injury done to the commons; but this is what the makers of the Reformation did not do; they did precisely the contrary; and this too from a very obvious cause. The French Revolution was made *by the people*; the English Reformation was made *by the aristocracy* against the wishes of the people. The French revolutionists divided the property amongst the people; the English aristocracy took the property to themselves!

4. But this was not all that they did against the people. Having become the lords of the immense estates of the church, they, as was natural, began to put an end to that *joint-proprietorship* which had before existed, and, the lives dying off, they assumed the absolute possession: the race of *yeomen* was, little by little, swept away, and the occupants became rack-renters, wholly dependent on the will of the aristocracy. From even the parochial clergy the aristocracy had taken a great part of their revenue, while, at the same time, they allowed them to marry; and thus were the poor left without relief, and the churches without revenues to keep them in repair. Yet it was absolutely necessary that provision should be made for these objects; for, in the reign of Elizabeth, so great and so general was become

the misery of the people, and so manifestly was open rebellion approaching, that it was, after numerous efforts to avoid it, finally resolved on to make *by law* an effectual and permanent provision for the poor, and for the repair of the churches. And how did *reason* and *justice* say that this ought to be done? By a tax, certainly, exclusively on the property taken from the church and given to the aristocracy. This is what ought to have been done; and even this would have been but a poor compensation for all that the commons had lost; but instead of this a law was made *to tax all the people* for the relief of the poor and for the repairing of the churches; and this tax, for England alone, now amounts to the enormous sum of seven millions and a half of pounds sterling in a year.

5. The Stuarts, who came to the throne immediately after the making of this law, besides being a feeble race of men, had not the protection which Elizabeth had found in the dread which the people had had of seeing the crown on the head of a Frenchman. The Stuarts, neither loved nor respected, had not the power to withstand the effects of the old grudge against the aristocracy, combined, as it now was, with the most furious fanaticism, hardly got quietly along through the reign of James I.; and, in that of Charles I., had to undergo all the sufferings of a revolution. The Republicans, amidst all their fury against the remains of the Catholic church, did not forget *its estates*; and, in spite of the arguments of the *Royalists*, proceeded very coolly, and, as all the world must say, very justly, *to take the estates back again for public use*.

6. The restoration of the Stuarts, which, like that of Louis XVIII., was produced partly by the tyranny of the man at the head of affairs and partly by treachery, restored these immense estates to the aristocracy; but did not restore to the Crown the estate which the Republicans had taken from it; so that, while the aristocracy retained all their enormous increase of wealth and power, the king, like the poor, became a charge on the public revenue; and thus were king as well as people placed at the mercy of the aristocracy; a state in which they have remained from that day to this.

7. Next came the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688; and here the reader must have his senses at command to enable him to set the delusion of *names* at defiance. This revolution was made *by the aristocracy*, and for their *sole benefit*, and, like the Reformation, *against the wish of the people*. It was forced upon the nation by an army brought from abroad; it was made by laws passed by those who had not been chosen by the people to make laws; and that the revolution was for the benefit of the aristocracy, what need we of more proof than is contained in the following facts, well known to all the world; that James II., who was a Catholic himself, wished to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants as to all civil

rights; that the nation was then but at only about fifty years from the death of many who had witnessed the transfer of the church-estates to the aristocracy, only at about forty years from the time when those estates had been taken from the aristocracy by the republicans, and applied to public uses, and only at about *thirty years* from the time when the estates had been given back to the aristocracy again; that it was evident, that if the king could be a Catholic himself, and were permitted to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants, all men would say, that the Reformation was *unnecessary*, and that the estates had been taken from the Catholic church *unjustly*, from which conclusion there could be but one step to the *resumption of those estates by the nation*.

8. To these facts add the following; that the Prince of Orange was not invited to England by any meeting or assemblage of the people, nor by any person or body of persons chosen by the people for that purpose, or for the making of laws; that he was invited to England by the aristocracy, and through agents sent to Holland by them; that the Dutch army, brought over by William, marched to London with him and displaced the English soldiers stationed there; that the general commanding the English army went over to William; and that laws were immediately passed for *disarming suspected persons*, and for enabling the new government to *put into prison whomsoever it suspected of designs hostile to it*. Add these facts to the former, and then nothing further need be said with regard to the actors in, or the motives to, this "*Glorious Revolution*."

9. But though by these and similar means, and by a pretty free use of the gallows and the scaffold, the aristocracy secured the estates for this time, the thing was by no means *settled* thus. A war with France became necessary "*for the preservation of the Protestant religion*"; that is to say, the quiet possession of the church-estates. To carry on this war, and to bind the monied people to the new government, it was necessary to *borrow money*; and hence arose the *funds*, the *bank*, and the *national debt*. These brought *taxes*, and so heavy as to create great discontents. The people felt themselves loaded with *ten or twelve millions* a year, instead of the *million and a half* which they had had to pay in the reign of James II.; so that, soon after the accession of George I., the first king of the House of Brunswick, he had to encounter an open rebellion; and the aristocracy, though they had so pared down the independence and power and influence of the people, found it necessary to pare it down still more; and this they effected in the year 1715, by an act called the *Riot act*, and by another called the *Septennial bill*.

10. By the first of those laws *all assemblages of the people out of doors* were, in effect, put down. And why was this? Certainly not

because they were favourable to the government. But the *Septennial bill* can leave no doubt in the mind of any man. One of the charges against the STUARTS was, that they had not called new parliaments *frequently enough*; and that, thus, they had deprived the people of the power of changing their representatives as often as might be necessary. The right of the people was to choose a new parliament *every year*. But those who introduced William did not restore this right; but enacted that, in future, there should be a new parliament *every three years*. However, in 1715, they found, that the people had still too much power; and in this year they, whom the people had chosen for three years, made a law to authorise themselves to sit for *four years longer*! Aye, and that every future parliament should sit for *seven years* instead of three; though the declaration against the Stuarts stated, that "*new parliaments ought to be frequently called*," and that this was an unalienable right of the people of England.

11. But, audacious as this was in itself, it was less audacious than the pretenses set forth for the passing of the law. These were, that such *frequent* elections were attended with "*grievous expenses*"; that they caused "*violent and lasting heats and animosities*"; and that they might, at this time, favour the views of a "*restless and popish faction in causing the destruction of the peace and security of the government*." Now, if this had been a *mere faction*, why take away the rights of *all the people*, in order to counteract its restlessness? Why, in order to keep down a mere faction, subvert the fundamental laws and usages of the country, and violate, in this daring manner, the solemn compact so recently entered into between the crown and the people!

12. It was, then, under the auspices of the *Riot act* and of the *Septennial act* that the House of Brunswick began its reign in England; and, though Mr. CANNING will not, by those who knew him, be deemed much of an authority upon the subject, he did say, in the House of Commons, in 1822, that if the people of England could have had their will, the House of Brunswick would never have worn the Crown of this kingdom. The dislike of the people was not, however, to the House of Brunswick, but to the exercise of the power of the aristocracy, who, by this last-mentioned act, left hardly the semblance of power in the hands of the people. The Members of that House have, in general, conducted themselves with great moderation; but, in its name the aristocracy has gone on with its encroachments, which, however, seem at last to be destined to counteract themselves.

13. The "*glorious revolution*" brought wars; first for the keeping out of James and his family, and second for the preservation of *Holland* and of *Hanover*. These brought debts; and these brought taxes. The American colonies, now the United States, all of which, observe, had been settled by the Stu-

arts, began, in 1770, to present food for taxation. The parliament (the *Septennial* parliament) passed laws to tax them. The Americans had seen how their brethren in England had, by degrees, lost their property and their liberty. They raised the standard of "NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION;" the septennial parliament raised the standard of "UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION;" the battle began; and how it ended all the world knows.

14. It was impossible for these two standards to remain raised for seven years, as they did, without attracting the attention of the world, and particularly of the intelligent and brave people of France, especially as the latter had to take a part in the conflict. The success of the Americans, in conjunction with the armies of France, beckoned to the people of France to follow the bright example. As it was absolutely impossible for Lafayette not to imbibe the principles of Washington, so it was impossible that the French should not imbibe the principles of the Americans. And now it was that our aristocracy began to see the effects of their septennial system recoil upon themselves. The French people, who, as FORTESCUE clearly shows, had never derived from the Catholic church the benefits which the English had derived from it; the French people, always borne down by a great standing army, while England had none; the French people, pressed to the earth by taxes, partial as well as cruelly heavy, such as England had, at that time, never heard of; the French people, insulted in their wretchedness by a haughty, a squandering, and most profligate court, and higher clergy; this oppressed and brave people resolved, in 1789, no longer to endure the degrading curse, and, at one single effort, swept away their grinding and insolent aristocracy and clergy, and, in their rage, the throne itself; and, by that act, sent dread into the heart of every aristocrat upon the face of the earth.

15. Our septennial law-makers remained, however, spectators for about two years and a half; but, in the meanwhile, the example was working here. The Septennial bill had produced all its natural consequences, wars, debts, and taxation; and, as the cause of the evils was seen, the people had begun, even during the American war, to demand a REFORM IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT as the only cure for existing evils, and as the only security against their recurrence for the future. When the standard of the right of representation had been raised by thirty millions of people only twenty miles from them, those of England could not be expected to be dead to the call. They were not; and it required no long time to convince our aristocracy that one of two things must take place; namely, that the French people must be compelled to return under their ancient yoke; or that a change must take place in England, restoring to the people the right of freely choosing their representatives; the consequences of which, to this

aristocracy, were too obvious to need pointing out, even to parties not deeply interested in those consequences. The obstacles to war were very great. There was the DEBT, which, by the unsuccessful American war, had been made to amount to a sum, the annual interest of which demanded *six times* the amount of the taxes which had existed in the reign of James II. There were, besides, heavy burdens entailed upon the country by that war on account of half-pay and of other things. On the other hand, we had a most advantageous commercial treaty with France, which the Republicans in France were ready to continue in force. The interests of the people of England manifestly pointed to peace: their wishes, too, were in favour of peace; and this latter is *proved* by their conduct, and still more clearly by the PROCLAMATIONS for checking French principles; by the ARISTOCRATICAL ASSOCIATIONS formed for that purpose; and by the TERRIBLE LAWS passed for the purpose of cutting off all communication between the people of the two countries.

16. But the alternative was, *Parliamentary Reform, or put down the Republic of France*. That really was the alternative, and the only one. The former ought to have been chosen; but the latter was resolved on, and that, too, in spite of the acknowledged risk of failure; for, so much did the aristocracy dread the other alternative, that failure, when compared with that, lost all its terrors. To war then they went; in war they continued for twenty-two years, except the short respite procured by the peace of Amiens, which was, in fact, a truce rather than a peace. At the end of twenty-two years, Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France; but of that event, and its causes and consequences, the details will come into the history to which this sketch is an introduction.

17. During the fight every thing but the dread of the effect of the example of the French appears to have been overlooked by our aristocracy; and, of course, they thought nothing of the DEBT which they were contracting, though that was, as the sequel will show, destined to undo all that they were doing against the French, and to render that parliamentary reform, which it had been their great object to root out of the minds of the people, more necessary and more loudly called for than ever. They had advanced only about six years in war when they found themselves compelled to resort to a *paper-money*, and to make it a *legal tender*. This was a very important crisis in the affairs of the septennial parliament and of the aristocracy, and the consequences which have resulted, and will result, from it are to be ranked amongst those which decide the fate of governments. Therefore this matter calls for full explanation.

18. At the time when this war began, 1793, WILLIAM PITT, a son of the late Earl of Chatham, was the Prime Minister. He had established what he called a SINKING FUND, and had adopted other measures for reducing the

amount of the DEBT, which had now reached the fearful amount of *two hundred millions* and upwards. A new war was wholly incompatible with Pitt's schemes of reduction; and he, of course, would be, and he *really was*, *opposed to the war of 1793*, though he carried it on (with the exception of the truce before-mentioned) until the day of his death, which took place in 1806. And here we behold the direct, open, avowed, and all-ruling power of the aristocracy! This body had, for many years, been divided into two "parties," as they called them, bearing the two nick-names of **TORIES** and **WHIGS**, the etymology of which is of no consequence. The **TORIES** affected very great attachment to the *throne and the church*; the **WHIGS** affected perfect *loyalty*, indeed, but surprising devotion to the *rights of the people*, though it was *they* who had brought in the Dutch king and his army, and who had made the Riot Act and the Septennial Bill; so that, if they were the friends of the people, what must their enemies have been! The truth is, there was no difference, as far as regarded the people, between these two factions; their real quarrels were solely about the *division of the spoil*; for, whenever any contest arose between the *aristocracy* and the *people*, the two factions had always united in favour of the former; and thus it was in regard to that all-important question, the war against Republican France.

19. **PITT**, who was the son of a Whig-Pensioner, and had begun his career not only as a Whig, but as a Parliamentary reformer, was now at the head of the Tories; and **CHARLES FOX**, who had not only been bred a Tory and begun his career as a Tory, but who had, and who held to the day of his death, *two sinecure offices*, was at the head of the Whigs. These were the two men of the whole collection who could talk loudest, longest, and most fluently, and who were, therefore, picked out by their respective parties to lead in carrying those "debates," as they are called, which have been one of the great means of amusing and deluding and enslaving this nation. Every effort was made by the respective parties to exalt their champions in the public estimation: they were represented as the two most wonderful men that the world had ever seen; as orators, Pitt was compared to Cicero, and Fox to Demosthenes: Pitt, as a lawgiver, surpassed Lycurgus: Fox more nearly resembled Solon! The people, always credulous and vain enough as to such matters, carried away by the jugglery, ranged themselves under one or the other of these paragons and took their respective names as marks of honourable distinction; and thus, for thirty long years, were the industrious and sincere and public-spirited people of this country divided into **Pittites** and **Foxites**; thus were they for those thirty years the sport of the aristocracy who employed these political impostors, while every year of the thirty saw an addition to their burdens and a diminution of their liberties.

20. In this state stood the factions, when,

in 1793, came the question of war against the Republic of France. Pitt, for the reasons before stated, *was decidedly opposed to war*. The portion of the aristocracy that supported him were *for war*; but, they were for their leader too, because, if he quitted his post, Fox came in with the tribe of Whigs at his heels. Besides, a *vast majority of the people*, whether **Pittites** or **Foxites**, were against the war. So that Pitt had reason to fear that, with a war on his shoulders, he would be unable to retain his power. But the Foxite portion of the aristocracy, seeing the *common danger*, and seeing the grounds of Pitt's opposition to war, *went over and joined the Pittite party*; leaving Fox with a small party about him, to carry on that "*constitutional opposition*" which was necessary to amuse and deceive the people.

21. Thus supported by the two bodies of the aristocracy united, Pitt went into this memorable war, which, though attended with numerous important consequences, was attended with none equal, in point of ultimate effect, to the measures by which *paper-money was made a legal tender in 1797*. The aristocracy, in resorting to this expedient, were not at all aware, that, though it gave them strength for the time, it must, in the end, bereave them of all strength; that it must take from them the means of future wars, or compel them to blow up that system of debts and funds which had been invented by them as a rock of safety, and without the existence of which the whole fabric of their power must go to pieces.

22. In the meanwhile, however, on they went with the war, and with the struggle between them and the people on the score of *Parliamentary Reform*; the people ascribing the war and all its enormous debts and taxes to the want of that reform, and the aristocracy ascribing their complaints to seditious and treasonable designs, and passing laws to silence them, or punish them accordingly. When this year began (1793) the Septennial bill had been in existence *seventy-nine years*, and that it had produced its natural fruits is clearly proved by the following undeniable facts: namely, that at the time of the "*Glorious Revolution*," in 1688, one of the charges against King James was, "that he had *violated the freedom of election of Members to serve in Parliament*"; that one of the standing laws of Parliament is, "that it is a *high crime and misdemeanor in any peer to interfere in the election of Members to serve in the House of Commons*"; that, in 1793, Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, presented a petition to the House of Commons, signed by himself and others, stating, "that a *decided majority of that House was returned by one hundred and fifty-four men, partly peers and partly great commoners*, and by the ministry of the *day*"; that he offered to prove the allegation by witnesses at the bar of the House, and that he was not permitted to bring his witnesses to the bar; that there was an appendix to this petition, containing a list of the *names*

of all the *peers* and *great commoners*, who thus returned the Members, exhibiting the number of Members returned by each, and that this list is recorded in the Annual Register for the year 1793; that in 1779, the House of Commons had resolved that an *attempt* to traffic in seats in that House was "*highly criminal in a minister of the king*"; that it was an attack on the *dignity* and "*honour of the House, an infringement on the rights and liberties of the people, and an attempt to sap the basis of our free and happy constitution*"; that on the 25th of April, 1809, LORD CASTLEREAGH, then a minister of the king, having been proved to have thus trafficked, the House resolved, "that it was its bounden duty to maintain, at all times, a *jealous guard on its purity*, the attempt, in the present instance, *not having been carried into effect*, the House did not think it necessary to proceed to any criminal resolutions"; that, alas! in only sixteen days after this, Mr. MADOCKS, Member for Boston, accused this same Castlereagh, together with two other ministers of the king, not only with trafficking in a seat, but of having completed the bargain, and carried it into full effect; that having made this charge, Mr. Madocks moved that the House should inquire into the matter; that the House then debated upon this motion; that there were *three hundred and ninety-five* Members present; and that (hear it, every honest man on earth!) *three hundred and ten* voted against all inquiry, and that, too, as the speakers in the debate openly declared, "*because this traffic was as notorious as the sun at noon day.*"

23. Such was the state of things in the year 1809. The next year George III. became, from insanity, incapable of performing the office of king; then, therefore, began the Regency of his eldest son and heir apparent, and it is of this ten years' regency, and of the ten years' reign that followed it, that the following is the history.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### *From the Birth of the King to his Marriage.*

24. This king, who was born on the 12th of August, in the year 1762, was the eldest son of King George III., and of Charlotte, Princess of Mecklenburgh Strelitz. Matters relating to his childhood and his boyish days are as uninteresting to the world as are the matters relating to a blackbird, or linnet, from the time of its being hatched to that of its flying from the paternal nest. Matters relating to his amours, and other sensual indulgences, at a more advanced period, could, even if we could come at an accurate detail of them, only serve as entertainment to the idle, encouragement to the profligate, and to fill the sensible and sober with disgust. To be sure, as a cause of *great expense* to the nation, he was always, from his very birth, an object of interest; but, unless we knew, or had heard of, something in his juvenile conduct

to hold up as an example to our children, which, as far as my knowledge and hearing have gone, is not the case here, it is best to pass over this comparatively insignificant part of his life, come at once to the period when he came openly in contact with the nation's purse, and, turning a deaf ear to both sycophants and satirists, relate truly what he did, or what was done in his name, leaving the world to judge of his *character* by his *actions*.

25. For these reasons I shall pass over all the previous part of this king's life, and come at once to the time when he entered into that *marriage* which led to consequences which have engaged the attention, as well as excited some degree of feeling, in every part of the civilized world. The brave and unfortunate Caroline, who was the victim of this matrimonial contract, and of whose persecutions, sufferings, death, and burial, the historian's duty will be to give, in the proper place, a full and faithful account, was the second daughter of Charles William, Duke of Brunswick, and was, at the time of her marriage, twenty-six years of age. The Prince of Wales (since George IV.), her husband, who had then attained the age of thirty-three years, was *greatly embarrassed with debts*, which, until this *marriage was proposed*, the nation was by no means disposed to pay. The country was at this time involved in a most expensive and wasteful war against the people of France; a war undertaken to put down principles, and, in the opinions of all considerate men, tending to produce, eventually, great suffering to the English nation; and, therefore, the people were not in a very good humour with royalty.

26. The discussions relative to the American revolution had produced a revolution in France; and it had been found, that, in like manner, this latter event would produce a revolution in England. Various are the *words* made use of by the parties in the disputes touching these revolutions; but the short and true state of the case is this: the *people* of all these nations were become sensible that they suffered from the whole of the governing powers being in the hands of the *privileged orders*. The Americans had successfully resisted the attempts to keep them under the yoke. The French had risen and broken the yoke to pieces. And now the English were making an attempt to regain their *right of choosing their representatives*.

27. In the midst of a general ferment, arising from this cause, war against the French people was commenced by PITT, in 1793, which war was going on at the time of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Brunswick. The taxes, on account of the war, pressed heavily upon the nation; the government armed itself at all points. Soldiers of all descriptions; barracks; new laws relative to the press; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; every thing, in short, to restrain and compel; but still *money* was necessary;

and, under such circumstances, an enormous sum, granted to pay the *debts* of a prince who had always received a large annual stipend out of the taxes, was what even PITT, daring as he was, had not the confidence to propose without being furnished with some plausible pretence for the proposition. The marriage, as we shall by-and-by see, *furnished this pretence*; and every thing that could be thought of was done to make the people part with the money freely.

28. The marriage took place on the 8th of April; and though it was, of course, to be considered as a measure of state-policy, it certainly gave great and universal satisfaction. The Prince, notwithstanding his extravagance; was, at this time, by no means *unpopular*. He had been studiously shut out from all public authority, was regarded as in *opposition* to his father's ministers, and, as those were very cordially and justly hated, the Prince, except with regard to his expenses, stood in rather a favourable light. The Princess, who was of a most frank and kind disposition, extremely affable and gracious in her deportment, by no means suffered in a comparison with the *Queen*; and, upon the whole, the nation seemed delighted with the prospect that their future king and queen held out to them.

29. In a few days after the celebration of the marriage; that is to say, on the 27th of April, the king officially communicated to the parliament his request, that a *settlement* should be made on the Prince, suitable to the alteration in his situation; and he observed, at the same time, that "the benefit of any *settlement* that the House might make *must fail in its most desirable effect, if means were not provided to extricate his Royal Highness from the incumbrances under which he laboured to a great amount.*"

30. Upon this message from the king Pitt founded his proposition to the House. Those members who composed what was called the *opposition*, or *Whigs*, or, at least, the most active of them, such as Fox, Sheridan, the Duke of Bedford and others, were also personal friends of the Prince. They, therefore, were ready to concur with the minister in this particular case. But there were men, on both sides of the House, to oppose any grant of money with a view of paying the *debts* of the Prince. Amongst these was Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, who actually made a motion to take 20,000*l.* a year from the sum proposed by the minister. This motion was lost; but 99 members voted for it; and the speech of Mr. Grey was well calculated to produce upon the country an impression very little favourable to the Prince, who had had *his debts paid by Parliament once before*, and who was now pretty loudly reminded of that fact by some members sitting on both sides of the House.

31. This former payment of the Prince's debts took place in 1787. The amount was, at that time, very large; and, certainly, with a clear annual allowance of *sixty thousand pounds*, money enough to maintain 3,000 la-

bourers' families, the nation had a right to complain, when a new clearing off of debts was called for. Nevertheless the new debt, which had arisen, the reader will perceive, in the space of little more than seven years, amounted to the enormous sum of 639,890*l.* sterling; that is to say, to 80,000*l.* for every year since the last clearing off of his debts; and, as will be perceived, to 20,000*l.* a-year *more than the whole of his annual allowance*. Thus he had been spending at the rate of 140,000*l.* a-year instead of 60,000*l.*, and had been living on what would have maintained 7,000 labourers' families!

(To be continued.)

## BATTLE AFFAIR.

To the Editor of the MORNING  
CHRONICLE.

Kensington, 4th January, 1831.

SIR,

You will, perhaps, remember that, last week, I troubled you with a letter, which you had the goodness to insert, relative to the confession, or *pretended* confession, of a poor orphan, named THOMAS GOODMAN, who was, some time before, condemned at Lewes, for setting fire to ricks and buildings. The confession stated, that the poor fellow had been instigated to the act by hearing me say, in a lecture at Battle, that *if the wages were not raised, there would be fires in Sussex as well as in Kent*. Upon this I observed before, asserted the falsehood of it, and expressed my belief that the story was a lie from the beginning to the end.

We have now, in the OLD TIMES newspaper of to-day, a *new edition* of this story, with *additions and improvements*. The *only witness* to the first edition of the confession was stated to be the REVEREND Henry John Rush, curate of Crowhurst, Sussex. Now we have *three names* as those of *witnesses* to the poor lad's writing the confession; and we have, besides, an introductory commentary of the OLD TIMES. These are as follows:—

"The following information, relative to the *two convicts, Bushby and Goodman, who were to suffer death this day, at Horsham, has been transmitted to us by our correspondent:—They arrived at Horsham in a fly, attended by two guards on Saturday (Christmas-day), from Lewes, both exhibit-*

"ing deep contrition for their crimes; Bushby tacitly and Goodman positively acknowledged the justness of their sentences. On Sunday the Chaplain of the gaol (the Rev. Mr. Witherby) delivered a very affecting discourse, in the chapel of the gaol. It appeared to make a deep impression on the whole of the prisoners, most of whom shed tears; both the unfortunate malefactors were particularly affected. Goodman had, previously to leaving Lewes, made a full confession of his guilt, and Bushby had done the same since he has been at Horsham, to the Chaplain as well as to Mr. Oliver, the prosecutor. On Wednesday Bushby was visited by his five sisters and two brothers: the interview was very distressing. Goodman still adheres to his first voluntary statement, that the writings and lectures of Cobbett were the chief inducement to him to commit the crime for which he is to suffer."

#### CONFESSION OF THOMAS GOODMAN.

"I Thomas Goodman, once herd of one Mr. Cobbit going a Bout gaveing out lactueers; at length he came to Battel and gave one their, and their was a gret number of Peopel came to hear him and I went; he had A verrey long conversation concerning the states of the country, and telling them that they war verrey mutch impose upon, and he said he would show them the way to gain their rights and liberals, and he said it would be very Proper for every man to keep gun in his house, espesely young men, and that they might prepare themselves in readiness to go with him when he called on them and he would show them wich way to go on, and he said that peopel might expect firs their as well as other places— this is tle truth and nothing But the truth of A dying man.

#### "THOMAS GOODMAN.

"Written before us, 30th December, 1830,

"WALTER BURRELL,

"H. TRECKOFF,

"FRANCES SCAWEN BLUNT."

This story about the GUN is a famous improvement: it is a fine instance of the "march of mind," and of the effect of the schoolmaster being abroad! If this poor orphan's life should be spared (as I wish it may), and, if the schoolmaster should continue his kind attentions, he will certainly make a bright ornament of Society, equal, perhaps, to JESSE BURGESS himself. Now, Sir, hear some truth about this poor lad. My son was present, in the way of his profession; he was one of the counsel in the court, when this orphan was tried. When called upon to say what he had to say in his defence, he put in a writtex

paper, in which he said he was an orphan without a friend in the world to advise with, but not a word about "one Mr. Cobbit." Then, you, Sir, in your report, take him up thus in your paper of the 24th of December. "The prisoner on, leaving the bar, confessed the justice of his sentence. He said that he set fire to the stack with a pipe and common matches. He also acknowledged to being the incendiary who set fire to some corn stacks a few days before, and for which a reward had been offered for the discovery of the offender. He said he could not account for the feeling which prompted these acts, except that he was goaded to their commission by an irresistible impulse."

Now, these facts are undoubted. So that, if he really did make the first confession, mentioned in my former letter to you, his recollection had come to him when he got before the REVEREND Henry John Rush, Curate of Crowhurst; and even then he forgot all about the GUN! It was not till he got to HORSHAM, it seems, in the neighbourhood of the gallows, that he recollected the GUN. If he should be brought in sight of the gallows, I should not at all wonder if he were to recollect, that "one Mr. Cobbit" gave him the pipe and matches; and if, after all, the rope should be put round his neck, would it be very wonderful if he were to become King's evidence, and swear, that it was I set the fires and not he!

There is, Sir, seldom a really wicked lie without having a peg to hang on; and this is the case with regard to this famous GUN. That I should say openly before four or five hundred persons, all of them strangers to me, that every man of them ought to have a gun in his house, in readiness against the time that I should come to lead them on; that I should be fool enough to say this is what nobody will believe. But, it is very true that I did talk about it being proper for every man to have a gun in his house. And now you shall hear how I came to say it, and how proper it was that I should say it. I was speaking on the subject of Parliamentary

*Reform*, and in support of the proposition for *universal suffrage*, I said that it ought to be, because every man capable of bearing arms, was liable to be called on to venture his life in defence of the country, and that, of necessity, this, which was the bounden duty of *all* men, was a duty the great burden of which must fall, and ought to fall, upon the *young* and *single* men; and that, therefore, in order to induce them to be always ready to discharge this sacred duty cheerfully, the young men ought to have a vote at elections, which would make them feel that they had a great interest in the safety of their country, and would thereby enable the Government to dispense with a standing army, even in time of war, as the same cause operated in that way in America. Here I took occasion to observe that a country was never so safe as when its defence depended upon the arms of its citizens. Then came the peg on which the lie has been hung. The words were, as nearly as possible, as follows: "I, some years ago, saw a printed paper, sent about by LORD ASHBURNHAM, ordering, or suggesting, that no labourer should have employ who kept a gun in his house. His lordship, in his anxiety for the pheasants, seems to have forgotten the country, and, of course, the land on which the pheasants are bred. For suppose we were to be again at war with France; suppose the French were to land at PEVENSEY LEVEL (only a few miles from Battle), as they once landed, who would there be to drive them into the sea? Why, the men of Sussex and Kent to be sure! And, when called upon by Lord ASHBURNHAM for that purpose, might they not remind him, that he had caused their arms to be taken away, though the law of England positively says, that it is a right belonging to every man to keep arms in his house for the defence of that house, which the law calls his castle?"

This was the peg; and it must be confessed, that the lie, "written in the presence" of WALTER BURREL and Co. has been clumsily enough hung on.

But, Sir, the questions, that every one will ask, are these: Was it not at a public lecture that the pretended words were uttered? Were there not there present, to hear the words, a great many persons, none of whom are now condemned to be hanged? Why not get the evidence of some of these? Why prefer the evidence of a poor frightened, weak minded lad, with the halter about his neck? Leaving BURREL and Co. to answer these questions, pray, Sir, give me room to add this remark, that, in Hampshire and Wilshire, where the thing actually resembles a campaign, I have not been for eight years, except as a mere passenger; and in neither of which I have set my foot for four years. The truth is, that my Lectures have had no effect whatsoever in producing the risings and the consequent acts, which have all arisen from hunger and ill-treatment, and from no other cause. When we see it proved, even upon these trials, that men went to work with nothing but cold potatoes in their satchells, and that young men, boys, old men, women and even an idiot-woman, were compelled, by the hired overseers, to draw carts like beasts of burden, what do we want more; why need the parsons hunt about after lecturers as the cause of the discontents?

I am, Sir,

Your most humble,  
And most obedient Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I made, at LEWES, just the same remarks about the GUN, gave just the same advice as at Battle; but, none of my Lewes auditors are condemned to be hanged. One of my auditors at Lewes was Mr. JOHN ELLMAN the elder. I did not know him, but found, afterwards, that it was he, upon my inquiring "who that old gentleman was, who sat in the stage-box, and who applauded so much." In short, Sir, all my efforts were calculated to put a stop to violence, and to restore peace. I say none of this to silence the infamous slanderers, but to expose them to public execration. They know that what they say is false: but they know

that *I wrote the History of the Protestant Reformation.*

However, besides the words uttered at the Lecture, I *distributed a hand-bill* amongst those who came to hear me at Battle. Ah! It might be this that made the poor, simple young man so mischievous! The hand-bill was a *printed petition* to the king, a copy of which was given to every person that entered the booth. Let us see, then, what effects it was calculated to produce. It began thus: "Most humbly showeth, That we approach your Majesty, not as blind adorers of royalty, but as faithful and dutiful subjects, whose fidelity and duty are founded in our conviction, that, in highly honouring and cheerfully obeying your Majesty, in upholding, with all our might, your just prerogatives, and evincing our most profound respect for your person, we best consult our own welfare, knowing that you are endowed with those prerogatives for the common good of us all, and not for your own exclusive advantage.— That feeling ourselves thus bound to your Majesty, not by harsh constraint, but by a willing obedience arising from a due estimate of our own interest and honour, regarding your person as sacred, not from servility of mind, but because you are the fountain of justice and of mercy, taught by the laws of our country that kings were made for the people and not the people for kings, regarding your kingly powers as given to you for the purpose of preserving the peace, the rights, and the happiness of the people, and more especially for the defence and protection of the weak against the strong, of the poor against the unjust encroachments of the rich, of the fruits of industry against the wiles and the violence of aristocratical ambition, arrogance and rapacity; animated by all these considerations, and beholding in your Majesty's most gracious conduct and demeanour an indubitable proof of your anxious desire to promote our good by a redress of our grievances, we, with the confidence with which suffering children

"appeal to a tender [father, lay those grievances before your Majesty.— That we complain, may it please your Majesty, not of the form of that Government which has endured for so many ages, and under which our fathers were so free, lived in such ease and abundance, and saw their country so great and so much honoured throughout the world; we complain not of the nature of the institutions of our country, which have stood the test of centuries; we complain not of any-thing, an attack on which would argue a hankering after innovation, but, on the contrary, it is of innovations, innovations endless in number, cruelly oppressive, and studiously insulting, that we have now to make complaint to your Majesty."

No *direct* incentives to rebellion, at any rate! The petition then went on to state a series of plain facts, the truth of every one of which is not only undeniable, but capable of juridical proof, and the facts stated, too, without any attempt at exaggeration. After this the paper concluded thus: "Thus, may it please your Majesty, we have, in all humility and dutifulness, submitted to your wisdom and justice a statement of a part of our manifold grievances and sufferings: we have, in the sincerity of our hearts, expressed to you our firm conviction, that all these have arisen from our not being represented in parliament; and as the means of restoring us to liberty and happiness, as the *means of uniting all hearts in preserving the peace of our country and upholding the dignity and true splendour of your Majesty's crown*, we humbly but earnestly pray, that of those great powers with which your Majesty is invested for the good of your faithful people, you will be graciously pleased to make such use as shall produce a reform in the Commons' House, ensuring to all adult males, not insane and not tarnished by indelible crime, a voice, given by ballot, in the choosing of representatives, and as shall shorten the duration of Parliaments."

Vastly "*inflammatory*," to be sure!

Mind, one of these papers was put *into the hand* of every person who went to hear me; so that this orphan had this paper to read after I came away. This paper was the thing most likely to produce impression on his mind; and a strange mind indeed must that have been, if this urged him to commit a violent act of any description. Never was any thing so foul as *this charge*. All my efforts tended to *put a stop to violence*; for, what was so likely to put a stop to it, as for the farmers, in every parish, to *call all the people together*, to explain to them *the causes of their inability to pay sufficient wages*, to sign a petition *along with them*, and exhort them to *wait patiently till there had been time to consider their petitions*? And this was the advice that *I every-where gave*. If this advice had been followed, there would have been *an instant stop* to all the violences, and the dreadful scenes which we now behold in the West would never have been beheld at all. Aye, aye; the calumniators know this as well as I do! But, I have written the HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION! I have taught the people WHAT TITHES WERE GRANTED FOR: and I have written the POOR MAN'S FRIEND, maintaining the RIGHTS OF THE POOR; and I have written the YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, showing how well people are off in a country where there are no *pensions, sinecures, standing armies, nor tithes*; and I have written 12 SERMONS, two of which treat of *cruelty to the poor, and of parsons and tithes*; and I have written the EMIGRANT'S GUIDE, showing how soon a miserable English pauper becomes a man of property, when he has landed in a country where there are *hardly any taxes and no tithes*. These are my *real sins*; and thumping sins they are. They are, however, *past praying for*. They are committed. They have produced, and are producing, their effect; and it is perfectly useless to *abuse* their author. If the parsons would set about answering the HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, they would act a more becoming part than they are now acting towards me. However, there is quite

enough for them to do to answer TWO-PENNY TRASH, No. 7. Let them send me an answer to *that*, and that will be occupation for them for some time. And by way of *amusement* let them read the petition now signing in the COUNTY OF SUFFOLK, which concludes with praying, that "the tithes *may again be applied, as originally intended to be; namely, to the relief of the poor and the repair of the churches, instead of the people being heavily taxed for these purposes.*" Let them read such things as this; and let them *answer* these petitioners. However, let them do what they like, and say what they like, they never can change men's minds upon this most important subject. On this point the whole nation, the parties interested in upholding tithes excepted, are of one mind; and the prudent course is, to yield to their wish *at once*, and to come to a settlement *justly and peaceably*. As I have said, over and over again, *something must give way*; something, some part or other of this present system, must yield to the mighty pressure. It is the *circumstances*, and not my writings alone, that are at work. But men situated as the parsons now are, *will not see the true cause*; and thus it is that danger becomes destruction.

## THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

[FROM THE NEW YORK DAILY ADVERTISER, DEC. 9]

A LITTLE after twelve o'clock last night, we received the President's Message by express. The person engaged to bring it to this city would have reached here at a much earlier hour but for a disappointment in his arrangements in Philadelphia. He, however, by his perseverance, has enabled us to lay it before our readers at an early hour this morning.

The *National Intelligencer* of Tuesday states, that a large proportion of the Members of Congress were present on Monday. In the Senate, General Smith, of Maryland, took the chair. In the House of Representatives, Mr. Speaker Stevenson was absent; but we learn from *The Baltimore Patriot* of Tuesday evening, that the Speaker arrived at Washington on Tuesday morning.

Both Houses met on Tuesday, when the following Message was delivered:—

## MESSAGE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—The pleasure I have in congratulating you on your return to your constitutional duties is much heightened by the satisfaction which the condition of our beloved country at this period justly inspires. The beneficent Author of all good has granted to us, during the present year, health, peace, and plenty, and numerous causes for joy in the wonderful success which attends the progress of our free institutions.

With a population unparalleled in its increase, and possessing a character which combines the hardihood of enterprize with the considerateness of wisdom, we see in every section of our happy country a steady improvement in the means of social intercourse, and correspondent effects upon the genius and laws of our extended Republic.

The apparent exceptions to the harmony of the prospect are to be referred rather to inevitable diversities in the various interests which enter into the composition of so extensive a whole, than to any want of attachment to the Union—interests, whose collision serves only, in the end, to foster the spirit of conciliation and patriotism, so essential to the preservation of that union, which, I most devoutly hope, is destined to prove imperishable.

In the midst of these blessings, we have recently witnessed changes in the condition of other nations, which may in their consequences call for the utmost vigilance, wisdom, and unanimity in our Councils, and the exercise of all the moderation and patriotism of our people.

The important modifications of their Government, effected with so much courage and wisdom by the people of France, afford a happy presage of their future course, and have naturally elicited from the kindred feelings of this nation that spontaneous and universal burst of applause in which you have participated. In congratulating you, my fellow-citizens, upon an event so auspicious to the dearest interests of mankind, I do no more than respond to the voice of my country, without transgressing, in the slightest degree, that salutary maxim of the illustrious Washington, which enjoins an abstinence from all interference with the internal affairs of other nations. From a people exercising, in the most unlimited degree, the right of self-government, and enjoying, as derived from this proud characteristic, under the favour of Heaven, much of the happiness with which they are blessed; a people who can point in triumph to their free institutions, and challenge comparison with the fruits they bear, as well as with the moderation, intelligence, and energy, with which they are administered; from such a people, the deepest sympathy was to be expected in a struggle for the sacred principles of liberty, conducted in a spirit every way worthy of the cause, and crowned by an heroic moderation which has disarmed revolution of its terrors. Notwith-

standing the strong assurances which the man whom we so sincerely love and justly admire has given to the world of the high character of the present King of the French, and which, if sustained to the end, will secure to him the proud appellation of the Patriot King, it is not in his success, but in that of the great principle which has borne him to the throne—the paramount authority of the public will—that the American people rejoice.

I am happy to inform you, that the anticipations which were indulged at the date of my last communication on the subject of our foreign affairs, have been fully realised in several important particulars.

All arrangement has been effected with Great Britain, in relation to the trade between the United States and her West India and North American Colonies, which has settled a question that has for years afforded matter for contention and almost uninterrupted discussion, and has been the subject of no less than six negotiations, in a manner which promises results highly favourable to the parties.

The abstract right of Great Britain to monopolise the trade with her Colonies, or to exclude us from a participation therein, has never been denied by the United States. But we have contended, and with reason, that if at any time Great Britain may desire the productions of this country, as necessary to her Colonies, they must be received upon principles of just reciprocity; and farther, that it is making an invidious and unfriendly distinction to open her colonial ports to the vessels of other nations and close them against those of the United States.

Antecedently to 1794, a portion of our productions was admitted into the Colonial islands of Great Britain by particular concessions, limited to the term of one year, but renewed from year to year. In the transportation of these productions, however, our vessels were not allowed to engage; This being a privilege reserved to British shipping, by which alone our produce could be taken to the islands, and theirs brought to us in return. From Newfoundland and her continental possessions, all her productions, as well as our vessels, were excluded, with occasional relaxations, by which, in seasons of distress, the former were admitted in British bottoms.

By the Treaty of 1794, she offered to concede to us, for a limited time, the right of carrying to her West India possessions, in our vessels not exceeding seventy tons burden, and upon the same terms with British vessels, any productions of the United States which British vessels might import therefrom. But this privilege was coupled with conditions which are supposed to have led to its rejection by the Senate; that is, that American vessels should land their return cargoes in the United States only; and, moreover, that they should, during the continuance of the privilege, be precluded from carrying molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, or cotton,

either from those islands or from the United States, to any other part of the world. Great Britain readily consented to expunge this article from the treaty; and subsequent attempts to arrange the terms of the trade, either by treaty, stipulation, or concerted legislation, having failed, it has been successively suspended and allowed, according to the varying legislation of the parties.

The following are the prominent points which have, in late years, separated the two Governments. Besides a restriction, whereby all importations into her Colonies in American vessels are confined to our own products carried hence—a restriction to which it does not appear that we have ever objected—a leading object on the part of Great Britain has been to prevent us from becoming the carriers of British West India commodities to any other country than our own. On the part of the United States, it has been contended: 1st. That the subject should be regulated by treaty stipulations, in preference to separate legislation; 2d. That our productions, when imported into the colonies in question, should not be subject to higher duties than the productions of the mother country, or of her other colonial possessions; and, 3d. That our vessels should be allowed to participate in the circuitous trade between the United States and different parts of the British dominions.

The first point, after having been for a long time strenuously insisted upon by Great Britain, was given up by the Act of Parliament of July, 1825; all vessels suffered to trade with the colonies being permitted to clear from thence with any articles which British vessels might export, and to proceed to any part of the world, Great Britain and her dependencies alone excepted. On our part, each of the above points had, in succession, been explicitly abandoned, in negotiations preceding that of which the result is now announced.

This arrangement secures to the United States every advantage asked by them, and which the state of the negotiation allowed us to insist upon. The trade will be placed upon a footing decidedly more favourable to this country than any on which it ever stood; and our commerce and navigation will enjoy, in the colonial ports of Great Britain, every privilege allowed by other nations.

That the prosperity of the country, so far as it depends on this trade, will be greatly promoted by the new arrangement, there can be no doubt. Independently of the more obvious advantages of an open and direct intercourse, its establishment will be attended with other consequences of a higher value. That which has been carried on since the mutual interdict, under all the expense and inconvenience unavoidably incident to it, would have been insupportably onerous, had it not been, in a great degree, lightened by concerted evasions in the mode of making the transshipments at what are called the neutral ports. These indirections are inconsistent with the dignity of

nations that have so many motives, not only to cherish feelings of mutual friendship, but to maintain such relations as will stimulate their respective citizens and subjects to efforts on direct, open, and honourable competition only, and preserve them from the influence of seductive and vitiating circumstances.

When your preliminary interposition was asked at the close of the last Session, a copy of the instructions under which Mr. McLane has acted, together with the communications which had at that time passed between him and the British Government, was laid before you. Although there has not been any thing in the acts of the two Governments which requires secrecy, it was thought most proper, in the then state of the negotiation, to make that communication a confidential one. So soon, however, as the evidence of execution on the part of great Britain is received, the whole matter shall be laid before you, when it will be seen that the apprehension which appears to have suggested one of the provisions of the Act passed at your last Session, that the restoration of the trade in question might be connected with other subjects, and was sought to be obtained at the sacrifice of the public interest in other particulars, was wholly unfounded; and that the change which has taken place in the views of the British Government has been induced by considerations as honourable to both parties, as, I trust, the result will prove beneficial.

This desirable result was, it will be seen, greatly promoted by the liberal and confiding provisions of the Act of Congress of the last Session, by which our ports were, upon the acceptance and announcement by the President of the required assurance on the part of Great Britain, forthwith opened to her vessels, before the arrangements could be carried into effect on her part; pursuing, in this act of prospective legislation, a similar course to that adopted by Great Britain, in abolishing, by her Act of Parliament, in 1825, a restriction then existing, and permitting our vessels to clear from the colonies, on their return voyages, for any foreign country whatever, before British vessels had been relieved from the restriction imposed by our law, of returning directly from the United States to the colonies—a restriction which she required and expected that we should abolish. Upon each occasion a limited and temporary advantage has been given to the opposite party, but an advantage of no importance in comparison with the restoration of the mutual confidence and good feeling, and the ultimate establishment of the trade upon fair principles.

It gives me unfeigned pleasure to assure you that this negotiation has been, throughout, characterised by the most frank and friendly spirit on the part of Great Britain, and concluded in a manner strongly indicative of a sincere desire to cultivate the best relations with the United States. To reciprocate this disposition to the fullest extent of my

ability, is a duty which I shall deem it a privilege to discharge.

Although the result is itself the best commentary on the services rendered to his country by our Minister at the Court of St. James, it would be doing violence to my feelings were I to dismiss the subject without expressing the very high sense I entertain of the talent and exertions which have been displayed by him on the occasion.

The injury to the commerce of the United States resulting from the exclusion of our vessels from the Black Sea, and the previous footing of mere sufferance upon which even the limited trade enjoyed by us with Turkey has hitherto been placed, have, for a long time, been a source of much solicitude to this Government, and several endeavours have been made to obtain a better state of things. Sensible of the importance of the object, I felt it my duty to leave no proper means unemployed to acquire for our flag the same privileges that are enjoyed by the principal Powers of Europe. Commissioners were, consequently, appointed to open a negotiation with the Sublime Porte. Not long after the Member of the Commission, who went directly from the United States, had sailed, the account of the treaty of Adrianople, by which one of the objects in view was supposed to be secured, reached this country. The Black Sea was understood to be opened to us. Under the supposition that this was the case, the additional facilities to be derived from the establishment of commercial regulations with the Porte were deemed of sufficient importance to require a prosecution of the negotiation as originally contemplated. It was, therefore, persevered in, and resulted in a treaty which will forthwith be laid before the Senate.

By its provisions a free passage is secured, without limitation of time, to the vessels of the United States to and from the Black Sea, including the navigation thereof; and our trade with Turkey is placed on the footing of the most favoured nations.—The latter is an arrangement wholly independent of the treaty of Adrianople; and the former derives much value not only from the increased security which, under any circumstances, it would give to the right in question, but from the fact, ascertained in the course of the negotiation, that, by the construction put upon that Treaty by Turkey, the article relating to the passage of the Bosphorus is confined to nations having Treaties with the Porte. The most friendly feelings appear to be entertained by the Sultan, and an enlightened disposition is evinced by him to foster the intercourse between the two countries by the most liberal arrangements. This disposition it will be our duty and interest to cherish.

Our relations with Russia are the most stable character. Respect for that empire, and confidence in its friendship towards the United States, have been so long entertained on our part, and so carefully cherished by the present Emperor and his illustrious prede-

cessor, as to have become incorporated with the public sentiment of the United States. No means will be left unemployed on my part to promote those salutary feelings, and those improvements of which the commercial intercourse between the two countries is equally susceptible, and which have derived increased importance from our treaty with the Sublime Porte.

I sincerely regret to inform you that our Minister lately commissioned to that Court, on whose distinguished talents and great experience in public affairs I place great reliance, has been compelled, by extreme indisposition, to exercise a privilege, which, in consideration of the extent to which his constitution has been impaired in the public service, was committed to his discretion, of leaving temporarily his post for the advantage of a more genial climate.

If, as it is to be hoped, the improvement of his health will be such as to justify him in doing so, he will repair to St. Petersburg, and resume the discharge of his official duties. I have received the most satisfactory assurance, that in the mean time, the public interests in that quarter will be preserved from prejudice, by the intercourse which he will continue, through the Secretary of Legation, with the Russian Cabinet.

You are apprised, although the fact has not yet been officially announced to the House of Representatives, that a treaty was, in the month of March last, concluded between the United States and Denmark, by which 650,000 dollars are secured to our citizens as an indemnity for spoiliations upon their commerce in the years 1803, 1809, 1810, 1811. This treaty was sanctioned by the Senate at the close of its last session, and it now becomes the duty of Congress to pass the necessary laws for the organization of the Board of Commissioners to distribute the indemnity amongst the claimants. It is an agreeable circumstance in this adjustment, that its terms are in conformity with the previously ascertained views of the claimants themselves; thus removing all pretence for a future agitation of the subject in any form.

Of the points not yet adjusted, the most prominent are our claims upon France for spoiliations upon our commerce; similar claims upon Spain, together with embarrassments in the commercial intercourse between the two countries, which ought to be removed; the conclusion of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Mexico, which has been so long in suspense, as well as the final settlement of limits between ourselves and that Republic; and finally, the arbitrament of the question between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the North eastern boundary.

The negotiation with France has been conducted by our Minister with zeal and ability, and in all respects to my entire satisfaction. Although the prospect of a favourable termination was occasionally dimmed by counter

pretensions to which the United States could not assent, he yet had strong hopes of being able to arrive at a satisfactory settlement with the late Government. The negotiation has been renewed by the present authorities; and, sensible of the general and lively confidence of our citizens in the justice and magnanimity of regenerated France, I regret the more not to have it in my power yet to announce the result so confidently anticipated. No ground, however, inconsistent with this expectation, has been taken; and I do not allow myself to doubt that justice will soon be done to us. The amount of the claims, the length of time they have remained unsatisfied, and their incontrovertible justice, make an earnest prosecution of them by this Government an urgent duty. The illegality of the seizures and confiscations out of which they have arisen is not disputed; and whatever distinctions may have been heretofore set up with regard to the liability of the existing Government, it is quite clear that such considerations cannot now be interposed.

The commercial intercourse between the two countries is susceptible of highly advantageous improvements; but the sense of this injury has had, and must continue to have, a very unfavourable influence upon them. From its satisfactory adjustment, not only a firm and cordial friendship, but a progressive development of their relations, may be expected. It is, therefore, my earnest hope, that this old and vexatious subject of difference may be speedily removed.

I feel that my confidence in our appeal to the motives which should govern a just and magnanimous nation is alike warranted by the character of the French people, and by the high voucher we possess for the enlarged views and pure integrity of the Monarch who now presides over her councils; and nothing shall be wanting on my part to meet any manifestation of the spirit we anticipate in one of corresponding frankness and liberality.

The subjects of difference with Spain have been brought to the view of that Government, by our Minister there, with much force and propriety; and the strongest assurances have been received of their early and favourable consideration.

The steps which remained to place the matter in controversy between Great Britain and the United States fairly before the arbitrator, have all been taken in the same liberal and friendly spirit which characterised those before announced. Recent events have doubtless served to delay the decision, but our Minister at the Court of the distinguished arbitrator has been assured that it will be made within the time contemplated by the treaty.

I am particularly gratified in being able to state that a decidedly favourable, and, as I hope, lasting change, has been effected in our relations with the neighbouring republic of Mexico. The unfortunate and unfounded suspicions in regard to our disposition, which

it became my painful duty to advert to on a former occasion, have been, I believe, entirely removed; and the Government of Mexico has been made to understand the real character of the wishes and views of this in regard to this country. The consequence is, the establishment of friendship and mutual confidence. Such are the assurances which I have received, and I see no cause to doubt their sincerity.

I had reason to expect the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Mexico, in season for communication on the present occasion. Circumstances which are not explained, but which, I am persuaded, are not the result of an indisposition on her part to enter into it, have produced the delay.

There was reason to fear, in the course of the last summer, that the harmony of our relations might be disturbed by the acts of certain claimants, under Mexican grants, of territory which has hitherto been under our jurisdiction.—The co-operation of the representative of Mexico to this Government was asked on the occasion, and was readily afforded. Instructions and advice have been given to the Governor of Arkansas, and the officers in command in the adjoining Mexican state, by which it is hoped the quiet of that frontier will be preserved, until a final settlement of the dividing line shall have removed all ground of controversy.

The exchange of ratifications of the treaty concluded last year with Austria has not yet taken place. The delay has been occasioned by the non-arrival of the ratification of that Government within the time prescribed by the treaty. Renewed authority has been asked for by the representative of Austria; and in the meantime the rapidly-increasing trade and navigation between the two countries have been placed upon the most liberal footing of our navigation acts.

Several alleged depredations have been recently committed on our commerce by the national vessels of Portugal. They have been made the subject of immediate remonstrance and reclamation. I am not yet possessed of sufficient information to express a definitive opinion of their character, but expect soon to receive it. No proper means shall be omitted to obtain for our citizens all the redress to which they may appear to be entitled.

It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress, that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlement, is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provisions made for their removal at the last Session of Congress; and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises

to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments, on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north, and Louisiana on the south, to the settlement of the whites, it will incalculably strengthen the south-western frontier, and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasion without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi, and the western part of Alabama, of Indian occupancy, and enable those States to advance rapidly in wealth, population, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites—free them from the power of the States—enable them to pursue happiness in their own way, and under their own rude institutions—will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and, perhaps, cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government, and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits, and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community—consequences, some of them so certain, and the rest so probable, make the complete execution of the plan sanctioned by Congress at their last Session, an object of much solicitude.

Towards the Aborigines of the country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than myself, or would go further in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits, and make them a happy and prosperous people. I have endeavoured to impress upon them my own solemn convictions of the duties and the powers of the general Government in relation to the State Authorities. For the justice of the laws passed by the States within the scope of their reserved powers, they are not responsible to this Government. As individuals, we may entertain and express our opinions of their acts, but as a Government we have as little right to control them as we have to prescribe laws to foreign nations.

With a full understanding of the subject, the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribe have, with great unanimity, determined to avail themselves of the liberal offers presented by the Act of Congress, and have agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river. Treaties have been made with them, which, in due season, will be submitted for consideration. In negotiating these Treaties, they were made to understand their true condition; and they have preferred maintaining their independence in the Western forests, to submitting to the laws of the States in which they now reside. These Treaties being probably the last which will ever be made with them, are characterised by great liberality on the part of the Government. They give the Indians a liberal sum in consideration of their

removal, and comfortable subsistence on their arrival at their new homes. If it be their real interest to maintain a separate existence, they will there be at liberty to do so without the inconveniences and vexations to which they would unavoidably have been subject in Alabama and Mississippi.

Humanity has often wept over the fate of the Aborigines of this country, and philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it. But its progress has never for a moment been arrested; and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race, and to tread on the graves of extinct nations, excites melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to the vicissitudes, as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. In the monuments and fortresses of an unknown people, spread over the extensive regions of the west, we behold the memorials of a once powerful race, which was exterminated or has disappeared to make room for the existing savage tribes. Nor is there anything in this which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests, and ranged by a few thousand savages, to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms—embellished with all the improvements which art can devise, or industry execute—occupied by more than twelve millions of happy people—and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?

The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change, by a milder process. The Tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated, or have melted away, to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward; and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged, and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did, or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land our forefathers left all that was dear in earthly objects. Our children, by thousands, yearly leave the land of their birth to seek new homes in distant regions. Does humanity weep at these painful separations from everything, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unconstrained in body or in mind, developing the power and faculties of man in their highest

perfection. These remove hundreds, and almost thousands of miles at their own expense. purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their own home from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this government, when, by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home, to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expenses of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions? If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy.

And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled civilized Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers, than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government towards the red man is not only liberal but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the State, and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or, perhaps, utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement.

The object of the tariff is objected to by some as unconstitutional; and it is considered by almost all as defective in many of its parts.

The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. The right to adjust those duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, is so completely incidental to that power that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and, consequently, if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case; this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress.

In this conclusion I am confirmed, as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people.

The difficulties of a more expedient adjust-

ment of the present tariff, although great, are far from being insurmountable. Some are unwilling to improve any of its parts, because they would destroy the whole; others fear to touch the objectionable parts, lest those they approve should be jeopardied. I am persuaded that the advocates of these conflicting views do injustice to the American people, and to their representatives. The general interest is the interest of each; and my confidence is entire, that, to ensure the adoption of such modifications of the tariff as the general interest requires, it is only necessary that that interest should be understood.

While the chief object of duties should be revenue, they may be so adjusted as to encourage manufactures. In this adjustment, however, it is the duty of the Government to be guided by the general good. Objects of national importance alone ought to be protected: of these the productions of our soil, our mines, and our workshops, essential to national defence, occupy the first rank. Whatever other species of domestic industry, having the importance to which I have referred, may be expected, after temporary protection, to compete with foreign labour, on equal terms, merit the same attention in a subordinate degree.

The present tariff taxes some of the comforts of life unnecessarily high; it undertakes to protect interests too local and minute to justify a general exaction; and it also attempts to force some kinds of manufactures for which the country is not ripe. Much relief will be derived, in some of these respects, from the measures of your last Session.

The best as well as fairest mode of determining whether, from any just consideration, a particular interest ought to receive protection, would be to submit the question singly for deliberation. If after due examination of its merits, unconnected with extraneous considerations—such as a desire to sustain a general system, or to purchase support for a different interest—it should enlist in its favour a majority of the representatives of the people, there can be little danger of wrong or injury in adjusting the tariff with reference to its protective effect. If this obviously just principle were honestly adhered to, the branches of industry which deserve protection would be saved from the prejudice excited against them, when that protection forms part of a system by which portions of the country feel, or conceive themselves to be oppressed. What is incalculably more important, the vital principle of our system—that principle which requires acquiescence in the will of the majority—would be secure from the discredit and danger to which it is exposed by the acts of majorities, founded, not on identity of conviction, but on combinations of small minorities, entered into for the purpose of mutual assistance in measures which, resting solely on their own merits, could never be carried.

In conclusion, Fellow-Citizens, allow me to

invoke, in behalf of your deliberations, that spirit of conciliation and disinterestedness, which is the gift of patriotism. Under an overruling and merciful Providence, the agency of this spirit has thus far been signalled in the prosperity and glory of our beloved country. May its influence be eternal.

ANDREW JACKSON.

### FLOGGING SOLDIERS.

"MARCH OF MIND," AND "IMPROVEMENTS OF THE AGE."

"MILITARY TORTURE.—(From a Correspondent.)—On Friday morning last another of those *brutal and disgusting punishments* took place at *Portman-street Barracks*, which has been so highly censured by the friends of humanity and *the public in general*. The first battalion of the Second, or Coldstream, Regiment of Guards, under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, are at present stationed at Portman-street Barracks, and at the usual hour the battalion mustered in the barrack-yard, where Thomas Richardson and — Tennant, privates in the regiment, were brought out from their place of confinement, having suffered 14 days of solitary confinement, to have their Court-Martial read over to them. The prisoners were found guilty of *high military offences*. Tennant's offence was for *being drunk on duty*, and he was sentenced to receive *three hundred lashes*; he was tied up to the halberds, but before he received 150 *he fainted*, and was taken down, and consigned to the care of the surgeon. Thomas Richardson, said to be a very bad character, and as far as we could learn, for a similar offence, and *abusing his superiors*, was sentenced to receive 500 lashes. The unfortunate man writhed under the torture, but bore his punishment with great firmness, and took the whole 500. On being taken down he thanked his officers for what they had given him, adding, '*Thank God you have not killed me yet.*' He was also put under the care of the surgeon. There perhaps can be no better proof of the utter inutility of this barbarous and

*disgraceful mode* of punishment, than the fact that both these men, degraded as they are *beneath the brute creation*, have been flogged several times before for similar offences. The first battalion, we understand, is under the command of *Colonel Sir William Gomm*."

Now, reader, I take this from the MORNING HERALD of the 5th instant. It is, however, become quite fashionable writing. Even the OLD TIMES, bloody as it always has been, whelped, as its crew seems to have been, in a slaughter-house, has been crying out against this flogging work! "Waust improvements, maum," says fat Mrs. Scrip to freakish Mrs. OMNIUM, whose husbands are gone up to 'Change, leaving them to walk the Steyne with the whiskered captains. Vast improvements, indeed! In 1810, Mr. DRAKARD, of the *Stamford News*, and I, were both *in jail*, each of us condemned to pass *two years* amongst felons, with each a *heavy fine in addition*, for no other offence than that of writing against *military flogging*, and that, too, in terms much *less censorious*, or, at least, *harsh*, than those here made use of, though I by no means find fault with these terms. I have forgotten the circumstances of Mr. DRAKARD's case; but I remember that mine was this: not censuring the flogging of regular soldiers, who had *voluntarily* entered the service (though I did not *approve* of that), but censuring the flogging of *militia-men*, who had been compelled to enter the service; but here is my petition to the late King, whose reign, PREL tells us, was "*mild and merciful*." Here is the whole story; and it will show how vastly the mind must have "*marched*" to make the above paragraph of the MORNING HERALD an in-offensive publication.

1. *To His Most Gracious Majesty, GEORGE the Fourth, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

1. That there was published in Lon-

don, in the year 1809, a newspaper called the "*Courier*," which newspaper continues to be there published unto this day; that, in this said newspaper was published, on Saturday, the twenty-fourth day of June, 1809, a piece of news, or intelligence, in the following words; to wit:

"The mutiny amongst the *Local Militia*, which broke out at Ely, "was fortunately suppressed, on "Wednesday, by the arrival of *four squadrons* of the German Legion "Cavalry from Bury, under the "command of General Auckland. "Five of the ringleaders were tried "by a Court Martial, and sentenced "to receive *five hundred lashes* "each, part of which punishment "they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. A *stoppage for their knapsacks* was the "ground of complaint that excited "this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their "officers, and demand what *they deemed* their *arrears*. The first "division of the German Legion "halted yesterday at Newmarket, "on their return to Bury."

2. That your humble petitioner published, at the time here referred to, a work called the "*Weekly Political Register*;" that, on the first day of July, 1809, he inserted in the said work the above paragraph from the *Courier*, and that he, at the same time, subjoined words of his own, expressive of great indignation at the transaction; but words conveying no sentiment which he did not then think, and which he does not now think, it became an Englishman to entertain and express on such an occasion; and your humble petitioner is fully convinced, that if YOUR MAJESTY were to be graciously pleased now to read those words, taking all the circumstances into your consideration; who the punished parties were, that they were poor men whom a novel law had forced to quit their homes, and to submit to military service; that the law had awarded a sum of money called the "*marching guinea*;" but knapsacks had been

given, or tendered to them instead of the money; that though, perhaps, this might be for their own ultimate convenience and good; yet that, even if their claim had not been strictly legal, their youth and inexperience ought, your petitioner is sure your Majesty would allow, to have pleaded successfully in excuse for their conduct, and ought (especially as they have been compelled to assume the military garb) to have saved them from suffering punishment, severe in itself, and deemed infamous by the law of the land. Your humble petitioner is fully convinced that, if your Majesty were now to read those words, taking into consideration all these circumstances, your Majesty would see in them nothing that ought not to have proceeded from the heart or the pen of an Englishman; and that your Majesty would be able to discover in these words nothing that ought to be deemed seditious or libellous.

3. That, however, for having written and caused to be published these words, your humble Petitioner was prosecuted by an *ex-officio* information; that he was harassed with this prosecution for nearly a year; that he was then brought to trial; and that he was then sentenced, first, to be imprisoned for two years in the jail of Newgate; second, to pay a thousand pounds sterling at the end of the two years; and, third, to be held in bonds of three thousand pounds himself, with two sureties in a thousand pounds each, to the end of seven years after the expiration of the two years of imprisonment.

4. That, after the verdict had been given against your Petitioner, he had just had time to return to his alarmed family at seventy miles distance from London, when he was brought back by a judge's warrant to *give bail for his appearance to receive his sentence*; that, having appeared on the first day of term according to the command of the warrant, he was at once committed to jail, and kept there until finally brought to receive his horrible sentence; and that (a thing theretofore wholly unheard of) his then printer, THOMAS HANSARD; his then publisher, RICHARD

BAGSHAW ; and even a bookseller named JOHN BUDD, were all, for the self-same cause, prosecuted in like manner, and all punished by imprisonment ; so that, all persons pursuing the business of printing, or that of publishing, became terrified at the thought of printing or publishing the writings of your humble Petitioner, who had to endure many and great disadvantages arising from this terror, which caused an augmentation in the expense of putting forth his literary labours, and other grievous injuries, which he will not here enumerate.

5. That your Petitioner, who had long lived in the country at the time, and who had a wife, and a family of six small children, was put into a part of the jail allotted to *felons* and to persons convicted of *unnatural crimes* ; that, on the day after the imprisonment of your Petitioner commenced, one of the former was taken out to be transported ; and that, in a few days later, several of the latter were taken out to be placed in the pillory, and then brought back again to endure imprisonment in the same place that had been allotted to your Petitioner, but imprisonment, he beseeches your Majesty to be pleased to observe, of *much shorter duration* !

6. That your humble Petitioner, in order to avoid society like this, and to be able to avail himself of the consolation afforded by occasionally seeing his virtuous family, obtained, through the intercession of Gentlemen belonging to the Corporation of London, leave to reside in the house of the Keeper, to whom he paid, for this indulgence, twelve pounds for every week ; amounting, in two years, to *one thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds*.

7. That, with any detail of the numerous other expenses, losses, injuries, and mischiefs of endless variety, attending those two years of imprisonment, and the other parts of the merciless sentence, your humble Petitioner will not presume to trouble your Majesty ; but will conclude with, first, expressing his gratitude to God for having preserved him and his family amidst all these terrible sufferings ; and, next, with appealing to the justice

of your Majesty, whom he humbly begs leave to remind that, at the end of these two years of pain and of ruin, he paid into the hands of an officer of the crown, a *thousand pounds sterling*, for the use of your Majesty, whom he now humbly prays to be graciously pleased to cause the said thousand pounds sterling to be restored to him, your Majesty's humble Petitioner, and faithful and dutiful subject,

W. COBBETT.

Kensington, 25th August, 1828.

PEEL, through whom I sent this petition, told me, that the King had not been pleased to *command* any answer to be given to it ; that is to say, that the prayer of the petition was *rejected*. I said then, as I say now, that the time will come when it will *not be rejected* ; for never will I drop the matter until I *obtain compensation for that deep injury*. For the present, however, let us congratulate ourselves on this surprising "*march of mind*." The start forward has been very *sudden*. Daddy Burdett, in his democratical days, used to *talk* about the matter now-and-then ; but the thing always went off in smoke. It was not till *last August that ever was*, that the "*best possible public instructors*" began to open upon the subject. The coincidence was *curious*, at any rate, but it is a fact, that the broad-sheeted brethren never said a word in disapprobation of soldier-flogging till *after the arrival of the news of the glorious victory of the working people of Paris* ; and then they all bursted out *at once*, in full cry, just like a pack of hounds upon the starting of a hare ! They were so indignant at the flogging of English soldiers ; so horror-stricken at the sight, or, rather, at the thought, of "*our fine fellows*" being tied up by the wrists and ancles, and "*flogged till the blood ran down into their shoes* ;" they did so lament and weep, that you would have sworn that the soldiers in the barracks at the Bird-cage Walk were their fathers, or even the *husbands* of the *she-owners* of the broad sheet ! Yes : the coincidence was *curious*. I do not *assert positively* that the brethren were moved to their

"*humane*" course by the news from Paris; but it is a fact that nobody can deny, that these brethren and sisterhood never did say one single word against soldier-flogging *until after* the news arrived from Paris, that the troops of the line *had refused to fire upon the people*. This is a fact that *nobody can deny*; and though we cannot be *certain* that it was this circumstance that awakened, or created, this feeling of *humanity* in the breasts of the *he's* and *she's* of the broad sheet, the *coincidence* was, I repeat, very *curious*, and well worth being remembered.

At any rate, be the motive what it might, here is a "*waust improvement*," and I am now in hopes that, before the conclusion of my literary labours, I shall have to record that *soldier-flogging*, for my objections to which I and mine suffered so heavily, has been *abolished by act of parliament*. This will be a triumph indeed! And this triumph I shall certainly have.

## IRELAND.

### REPEAL OF THE UNION.

THIS is, and, in my opinion, it always was, a most important subject. But, before I proceed to remark on it, it is right to insert the Circular Letter of STANLEY, late member for Preston, and now what is called "*CHIEF SECRETARY*" in Ireland. It is a pretty good *beginning*, at any rate.

"*Dublin Castle, December, 1830.*"

"Having received and laid before the Lord Lieutenant letters from Magistrates in several parts of the country, announcing that meetings of *mischievous tendency*, under various pretexs of political discussion, or of public amusement, had taken place, or were expected, and requesting to be informed what course the Government wished that the Magistrates should pursue with respect to such meetings; I am directed by his Excellency to communicate to you the view which his Majesty's Government take of this question, and to lay down a line which it is hoped will be sufficiently distinct for your guidance in the exercise

of the important duties committed to your care.

"It will, I am persuaded, be unnecessary to remind you, that meetings of the inhabitants of any parish, town, or district, legally convened, and conducted in a peaceable and orderly manner, and confined to their avowed and legitimate objects, are not on any account to be molested by the civil force. The Government have no wish to check the fair expression of public opinion, nor to interfere with the right of petitioning Parliament, or of temperately appealing to those with whom the power of redressing the grievances complained of may rest.

"But I am further directed by his Excellency to observe, that while he is most anxious to secure to the people the undisturbed exercise of their constitutional rights, it is no less his determination than his duty, in the exercise of the high office with which he has been entrusted by his Majesty, to guard against any abuse of those rights, leading to the violation of the law or a breach of the public peace.

"The law recognises the *fair* and *legitimate* exercise of the right of petition; it acknowledges also the right of the people to meet for the purposes of *innocent* recreation, and protects them in the full and free exercise of that right. But the law does not warrant any assemblies having a manifest and direct tendency to a violation of the public peace, under whatsoever name, or for whatsoever professed purpose, they may be convened; and therefore any assemblies of persons, whether collected under the pretence of petitioning, or of public exhibitions of strength or skill, or under any other pretence whatsoever; if, from their numbers, acts, places or times of meeting, or other circumstances preceding or accompanying them, they excite in the minds of his Majesty's well-disposed and peaceable subjects reasonable fear that the public peace will be thereby violated, and the lives or properties of the King's subjects thereby endangered, or if they be so constituted or conducted

as to induce reasonable and well-founded apprehensions that the motives and objects of the persons so assembling are not the fair and legal exercise of constitutional rights and privileges, but the accomplishment of alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm, by means of intimidation, and by demonstration of physical force, or by any other than legal and constitutional means; in these and in all such like cases, such assemblies, however composed, or with whatsoever professed view collected, are illegal, and are by the law denominated 'unlawful assemblies.'

"And it is the duty of all magistrates, within whose jurisdiction such assemblies are called together (being first duly satisfied of their illegal nature), by all lawful means within their power, to prevent such meetings, and to suppress and disperse the same.

"His Excellency relies with confidence upon the firmness, temper, and discretion, of the magistracy in general; and I am directed to remind you, that it is upon the union of these qualities in the local authorities that the Government must mainly depend, in case the peace of the country should be threatened. His Excellency has remarked, with much satisfaction, the humane and prudent course which the magistrates of some counties have adopted, of warning the population of their respective districts of the penalties to which they may expose themselves, if led unwarily into the commission of illegal acts; and his Excellency would recommend generally the adoption of this salutary measure, wherever the state of the country may appear to the Magistrates to require any precautionary steps.

"I am directed, in conclusion, to assure you, that while his Excellency will not fail to visit with his severest displeasure any Magistrate who may shrink from the due performance of functions so vitally important—so on the other hand, your efforts for the suppression of acts of outrage, or of illegality, will be duly appreciated and acknowledged.

"The Government will perform their part, affording you the fullest protec-

tion in the responsible exercise of your authority, and in supporting the civil force whenever it may be necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient humble servant,  
"E. G. STANLEY."

I need not remark on this: every one will see *what it is intended to effect*. But, as to the question of a *dissolution of the Union*, to bring about which Mr. O'CONNELL is labouring, I have a great deal to say, and decidedly in support of that gentleman's proposition. And, first, as to what is *meant* by a *dissolution of the Union*. For, in this case, as in all others, where the people call for *any change*, no matter what, which is to better their lot, they have imputed to them *designs* that are not only unlawful, but *desperately wicked*, and are represented as being urged on by *instigators* and *agitators*, who have the gratification of their own *private interests* in view. This was conspicuously the case in 1817, when a million and a half of men prayed for the *abolition of unmerited pensions and sinecures* and for *reform of parliament*, things which are now demanded by every-body, except the tax-eaters themselves. The petitioners were then told that they had *other designs*, those of *anarchy* and *plunder*; and, upon this assertion, no proof of which was ever produced, their leaders were crammed into dungeons.

It is, thus far, just the same with regard to Mr. O'Connell and the Irish people, who are praying for a *dissolution of the Union*. They are told that *that is not* what they want; that they want a SEPARATION OF IRELAND FROM ENGLAND, in order that Ireland may be, at any time, able to join *France*, or any other power, *against* England. This has been said so often in most of the English newspapers; it has been so often stated *as an admitted fact*, that almost every-body believes it, though *the most barefaced lie* that ever dropped from pen or lips. What is the proposition? Why, to restore to Ireland *her own two Houses of Parliament* as she possessed them until the year 1800. They were then taken away by

*Act of Parliament*; and the people of Ireland now want *that act repealed*. The King always had his *Lord-Lieutenant there*; and so he would again; the King's authority would still remain as perfect as it is now; Ireland would be his dominion, and the people his subjects, just as they now are: all that is prayed for is, that Ireland may have her own two Houses of Parliament, as *Jamaica* and *Canada* and *Nova-Scotia* have; and this is what *Corruption's* press calls a demand *to separate Ireland from England!*

The *reasons* in favour of the proposition are numerous and weighty; and it is because they *are* such, that the lie about the design *to cause separation* has been invented. If it were not for the *weight* of these reasons, the foes of the proposition would not be *so furious* as they are. If it were a foolish, a wild, an absurd project, they would laugh at it, and despise Mr. O'CONNELL. They now abuse him; they belie him; they becall him; sure signs that he is right. *CORRUPTION*, with all her million of mouths, each like the infernal mouth (mentioned by St. John) pouring out blasphemies everlasting, assails him and his proposition; and therefore, without going further, here is strong presumptive proof *that he is right*; better, *far better*, proof than that upon which many a poor man has been hanged by the neck like a dog. Suppose you were to know that the *DEVIL* disliked, and was endeavouring to prevent the passing of, a certain bill, would it not be pretty safe for you to conclude that the bill would be *for the good of mankind*? When, therefore, you see all that body of persons, who are, *collectively*, properly called *CORRUPTION*; when you see them flying tooth and nail at Mr. O'CONNELL, you are to presume that what he is endeavouring to obtain is *for the good of the people*.

But, now, let us see whether there be not *other reasons for this measure*; let us see whether it be a mere *whim* of Mr. O'Connell, a mere means of creating a storm. What is the *great curse* of Ireland? The great curse is *poverty* amongst the industrious classes; pover-

ty, misery, human degradation, beyond what was ever before seen or heard of in the world. It has been proved, in evidence and documents published by the House of Commons, or, at least, printed by its order, that the people, throughout whole parishes, were, at one time, dying from starvation; that they *stole*, for food, sea-weed, which had been laid on the land *for manure*; that, as to clothing, they were in such a state, that even grown-up women *went about naked*, and that this was *so common a thing*, that it did *not shock* the rich people to behold it. This is the *great curse* of Ireland; and if we find, as we shall, that the *UNION* is one of the great and obvious *causes of this curse*, ought not Mr. O'Connell to be applauded for his endeavours to remove that cause?

The cause of the misery of a people is either the *barrenness of the soil*, the *laziness of the people*, or some means *by which the fruit of their industry is taken away from them*. The soil of Ireland is singularly productive; it produces meat, butter, flour, in greater quantity, in proportion to its extent, than any country in the world; and its people are amongst the most laborious in the world. These are facts wholly undeniable. There must, then, be *some means by which the fruit of the industry of the people are taken away from them*. And this is the case, and this is the cause of that state of the people of Ireland, which is a disgrace to the name of the country and a disgrace to human nature. What, then, *are these means*, by which the fruit of the people's labour is taken from them? *This is the question*; this is the question! This is the question for us to answer; for, in this answer we shall find the good and solid reasons for a *repeal of the Union*.

There are divers means of taking away the fruit of the labour of a people. An invading enemy might come and carry off all the corn and cattle and wool and flax, and leave the people nothing but the roots and the straw and the weeds; and this would certainly produce great misery; but not greater, not more horrible, than that which we now behold in Ireland. The

invading enemy would be living, not only in abundance, but in luxury, while the people of the pillaged country would be in the most miserable state. In the year 1822, when the late King issued a sort of proclamation for causing collections to be made for the relief of the *starving Irish*; at that very time, while there were thousands of the people starving, from the ports of Ireland there were daily *sailing out ships without number, laden with pork, bacon, beef, butter, and flour, bound to England, or to some other country!* Such a sight was never before seen in the whole world. Such a thing was never before deard of, Such a thing was never before dreamed of. A people, from whose toil had come all the food, lying down and dying with hunger, while that food was carried away to be eaten by people in other countries!

And *how came* such a monstrous thing to be? How came it to be? It is always *nearly* thus, however. The country is the most productive in the world of *meat, butter, and flour*, and the people, who raise all these, *never taste of either*, but live on the miserable root along with the *lean hogs*, for to make a fat one there must be *some of the corn!* How comes this to be, then? How comes the food to be *thus carried away?* I will explain this matter. It arises from the *absence of those who receive the rents and tithes of Ireland, and from the taxes.* Suppose, now, that all the landlords of the ISLE OF WIGHT, and all the parsons, were to live out of the island, and to take away and spend the rent and tithes elsewhere, how would the farmers of the island be able to get money to send to them to pay the rent and the tithe? Why, they must *sell* the cattle, and corn, and butter, and wool, in order to get the money to pay with. But to whom could they sell? Not to the people of the island; for they would have no money. They must, therefore, *sell them to people out of the island:* they must send them away to other parts, there to be sold, and the money to be *paid to the landowners and parsons there;* these would, of course, spend the money *there;* and the Isle of Wight

meat and flour and butter and wool would be consumed there; and the people of the island must, of course, for the far greater part, live upon roots, sea-weed, or other substances, such as nature never destined to go into the stomach of human beings.

*Very little short* of this is the actual fact of the case of Ireland. And now let us see how the UNION has *added to this evil.* But, first, every brazen and greedy Scotch place-hunter will say, as Doctor Black and Peter M'Culloch both said and swore, that this *non-residence* of rent and tithe receivers has no harm in it, because Ireland must *import* something in exchange for her exported produce. How is this to be, if the money that the produce sells for be handed over to the rent and tithe receivers, to be spent *abroad*, to be spent *out of Ireland?* They tell us of *Jamaica:* Jamaica is prosperous; the negroes do not starve, though all the landowners live and spend their incomes in Europe, and though their estates are managed by agents, just as those in Ireland are. Ah! but the labourers, the working people, of Jamaica have the **GOOD LUCK** to be the **PRIVATE PROPERTY** of the rent receivers, who, *therefore*, take care to *feed them well*, to keep up *their strength*, to *favour breeding* amongst them, and to supply them with the *best of medical attendance* when they are ill! The unhappy Irish want all these circumstances, which protect the lives of the Jamaica slaves, and ensure them a belly-full of food fit for man. They, accordingly, live on the CORN-MEAL, sometimes on MEAT and FLOUR, *sent from unhappy Ireland;* and never did it enter into the mind of slave-owner to make his slaves live on the filthy and accursed potatoes.

This is the *great cause* of the sufferings and the everlasting discontents in Ireland; and this cause is, in a great measure, *produced by the Union*, which has taken away the two Houses of Parliament and numerous functionaries along with them; which has brought these over to England, and, along with them, *all the landowners and a great part of the parsons.* So that the pro-

duce of the country is sent away to be sold for money to be given to these, and the people are left to eat miserable roots, weeds, or dirt. A repeal of the Union would, in part at least, remove this great evil, which, observe, is *daily increasing*; and it is notorious, that from the day of the Union to this day, the people have been growing more and more wretched, demanding laws still more and more cruel and an army more and more numerous to keep them down. And yet a man is to be called a *traitor* for using lawful means for the purpose of removing this evil!

My readers will bear in mind that I always said, that *Catholic Emancipation ALONE* would do nothing for Ireland; and that to effect any good purpose, the Protestant Church, the *Law-church* of Ireland must be *repealed*. This is another mighty reason for a repeal of the Union; for every man of sense must know, that an *Irish Parliament* could not *now* suffer that church to exist a year. Every man must know that: every man does know it, and every man says it. And it is this in which every soul in Ireland is interested. If there be *one* Churchman to *ten* Catholics and Dissenters it is as much as there is. What a monstrous thing, then, to give *three millions a-year* to the parsons and bishops, and to make the Catholics and dissenters pay *nine-tenths of it*! This is a source of *heart-burnings* not to be described: it fills the people with constant ill-will against all persons in authority: and thus their hatred becomes fixed and immovable. DOCTOR DOYLE (a Catholic bishop), in a late address to his people, who were in a state of agitation, has this passage; pray read it with attention:

You have been driven by a system of cruel and rapacious exaction to assemble in those large masses, in which you are observed to congregate from some of the most distant parts of this county. While your assemblages are conformable to law, and devoid of the tendencies to riot or violence, I am far from saying, that they ought to be discouraged. Had the *Established Clergy undertaken the reform themselves*, which, it would appear, they prefer *seeing others accomplish for their Church*; had the resident gentry of the county Kilkenny the prudence to represent to the

Government the *grievous pressure of the carnal and secular side of the Establishment* upon your industry and your subsistence, had even a prospect of redress, open from whatever region of the horizon it might, been presented to console you, then indeed *your interference* might be construed as ungracious and unnecessary. But, when there is not noticed a stir, in the way of reform, amongst those, on whose side the origin of reform would be policy, it is well to observe the significant symptoms of disquiet and dissatisfaction amongst those who need that reform, both as a necessity and a relief. In point of principle, therefore, *you are justified in meeting to express your sense of the evils which impoverish and afflict you*. It should be your care, that the expression of that sense be conveyed to those, who have the power of redressing you, not by the show or the act of intimidation, not by the touching the hair of the *most obnoxious tithe-proctor*, not by menacing the person or the abode of the *flintiest churchman* in the land, but by an open, peaceable and firm declaration of the several cases of injustice of which you have cause to complain, and that, either by a memorial or deputation to the Clergyman himself, or by *numerous and repeated Petitions to Parliament*.

This shows the real cause of one great part of the turmoil. In short, the people are going to the parsons, or their proctors, and demanding a *reduction of the tithes*, very much in the *Norfolk style*. On last week the people went to a parson on this business; the parson, whose name is Butler, shut himself into his house, and the following altercation took place; the parson had asked "what they wanted:"

It was answered, that they appeared to request he would reduce the amount of tithes which the people felt as an insufferable burden.

MR. BUTLER replied that he asked for no tithes *beyond what the law allowed him*; that it was not in his power or theirs to *alter the law*, which both parties were bound to abide by; that he had been for many years minister of the parish; and defied any person to say he had committed an act of oppression during that time, as a tithe owner; and that as he sought nothing beyond his right, so he would continue to require every shilling of it, and *could not consent to any reduction required*.

MR. KINSELLA said that a process for Mr. Butler's tithes had been left with a man named Whelan, whose wife at the moment *had been carrying out to be buried*, and whose four children lay ill of fever, while their father had not a shilling to provide necessaries for their relief.

MR. BUTLER, junior said, Whelan had not paid tithes for two years before, and repeated his father's determination to seek the payment of *all tithes allowed by the laws*.

One in the crowd asked, was it just to exact sums, even if permitted by law, which the people were *unable to pay*.

Mr. BUTLER said, certainly not, but *let they landlords first reduce their rents*, and—(Mr. Butler was here interrupted.)

The people called out that the rents had been reduced, while the tithes increased, and added, that the landlord *gave some value* for the sums demanded, while the clergyman gave none.

Mr. BUTLER—I can have but one answer to give you. If the clergyman commits any outrage, the law is open for you to seek redress; but while it *gives me a certain property* I cannot be expected to give up my right.

Mr. BUTLER now retired, but was again called for, and upon the distress of the people being represented to him, said, he was sorry for the distress, but that he had always been moderate in regard to enforcing his tithes, except where he had *to deal with rogues*.

A person called out to know would he reduce the 1,100*l.* he received at present to 400*l.* annually.

Mr. BUTLER would make no promise on the subject, because, being compulsory, he would not consider himself bound to keep it.

Mr. BUTLER again retired, and Mr. Blanchfield put the following resolution to the assembly:

“Resolved—That as Mr. Butler refuses to relieve us from any part of the burden which the law allows him to impose on the people, *we pledge ourselves to refuse all payment of tithes hereafter, until compelled to it, by law proceedings.*”

Here is the point, then! To this it always comes at last. So long as this establishment shall exist, so long will Ireland be in a state of commotion; and so long will the industrious classes of the whole kingdom have to be taxed to support a NUMEROUS STANDING ARMY! In the peace before the Union, about four regiments of soldiers were kept up in Ireland. Now it requires *thirty regiments*, besides an armed police all over the country, a thing never dreamed of in the peace before the Union. Can this system *continue*? Can it last; and that, too, with that *Republic in France*, which we shall behold *before the month of June*? Can it last, with the cheap government of France on one side of us, and the cheap government and prosperous and happy people of America on the other side, and both of them *without tithes*? Can this system last under such circumstances? If it can, why then, let it; but, if it cannot, is it not wise to give it up *at once*? Or, is

*every thing* to be risked for the sake of upholding this church establishment? This last question is one that the Ministers ought to put to each other every time they meet, until they have come to a firm decision; and, if they decide in the affirmative, let them make up their minds to the consequences, which consequences I do not think myself a fit person to describe.

### PRESTON ELECTION.

In the report of Mr. Hunt's speech at Bolton, there must have been an error of great importance; for there he is made to say, that he will “*oppose no reform that gives the ballot.*” What! Would he *not oppose* a reform that should disfranchise all the people of Preston, except men of 500*l.* a year rent! He *could not* say this, and nobody will believe that he did say it. A man must however leave such matters to be set to rights by time and by his general conduct.

Something of still more importance took place at Manchester, an account of which I take from the MORNING HERALD, as follows: “On New-year's Day, about noon, Mr. Henry Hunt honoured Manchester with his presence. A party of the radicals of the town posted off early in the morning to Oldham, in a barouche, drawn by four horses, with out-riders dressed in scarlet liveries; and between one and two o'clock Mr. Hunt and the party entered the town in this vehicle, amidst the cheers of thousands of wondering spectators. They drove slowly through the streets, and proceeded to St. Peter's-field (the site of the appalling scenes in August, 1819, when Mr. Hunt was taken into custody.) From 10,000 to 12,000 persons, comprising men, women, and children, were attracted to the spot to witness the Hon. Member's display of oratory in the open air. After he obtained silence he addressed the multitude in one of his speeches, in which he adverted to the “massacre” of 1819, *pledging himself to bring its promoters to justice*—spoke with great

"severity of the Magistrates who were present on the occasion, whom he pronounced to be 'cruel, inhuman, and unjust,'—and promised that he would restore the people's rights by his exertions in the House of Commons. The mob conducted themselves with perfect order and decorum, and not the slightest disposition to disturb the peace of the town was shown. As the procession marched on the field, deafening cheers made the welkin ring, and shouts of 'What's Wellington's visit to this!' were very general. In the evening Mr. Hunt dined with a numerous party of radical reformers, at the Spread Eagle Inn, Hanging Ditch. Whilst on the field he looked exceedingly well, and quite capable, as far as bodily appearance extends, to 'go through a tough piece of work' (to use his own words) in the House of Commons."

This is something tangible; the path is plain for the fulfilment of this pledge, the law is clear, and the precedents without end, if the charges be true. But no motion *for inquiry* will be of any avail. It must be something clear, distinct, and specific; or it will produce no effect upon the country. The promoters and the actors in the affair of the 16th August, did something *unlawful*, or they *did not*: if the latter, they ought not to be accused; but if the former, the accusation ought to be *specific*; it ought to be such as all the world can understand clearly; and made in a *form* and *manner* that will enable the accused parties to meet it *point by point, fact by fact, allegation by allegation*. It is a most weighty matter, especially when taken *in conjunction with the affair of 1817*; and the present Ministry could not do a wiser thing, than now to prove that their *professions* and their *protests* of those years were *sincere*. Never was a finer speech than that made by LORD GREY on the Manchester affair of the 16th of August.

There has been a loud and general rejoicing in all the great towns through which Mr. Hunt has come, on his way to London: and it is notified in the

newspapers, that *the people* mean to meet him, on Monday next, at ten o'clock, *to conduct him into London*. Dr. Black finds fault of this in his paper of the 5th instant, in the following words:—"At the time of the discussion in the House of Commons on the subject of the legality of the procession of the trades to present an Address to the KING, we observed that, whether legal or not, all processions in this crowded metropolis were attended *with great inconvenience*. We are a *very different people from our forefathers*, to whom pageants and processions, while they afforded a *salutary excitement*, could be productive of little *injury*. We appeal to all the inhabitants of the Metropolis, whether the preparations made for the Royal Visit to the City did not *for a week or two*, subject every person who had business to attend to much trouble and annoyance, to say nothing of *loss of time*? We are induced to allude to this subject at present by the announcement of a determination of the friends of Mr. HUNT to assemble to the number of 100,000, for the purpose of a triumphal entry into the metropolis. We are sure that we only speak the sentiments of *most of our readers* when we express a wish that all assemblages of this sort *should be discouraged* as much as possible. We have no wish to interfere with any man's popularity, or to prevent any description of the people from manifesting their feelings; what we wish is, that *some mode* of manifestation should be resorted to, attended with *less public inconvenience*."

This is pretty cavilling. *What mode* have the people besides this? No objection *was made* to the intended Royal and Ducal procession; no fault was ever found with the crowds assembled to do honour to Wellington and the rest of that description; no fault of any of *their* processions; but, now that THE PEOPLE have a triumph, there is great *"public inconvenience"* in processions. What praises did we read of the procession and all the shows, got up, the other day, by the tax-eaters of Brighton!

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No talk of "*public inconvenience*" then; but, now that the people are about to express their joy by a procession, it is a thing that ought to be *discouraged*. This is the *people's own affair*; it is their *pleasure* to do this, as a *mark of approbation of the excellent conduct of their brethren of Preston*, and as a *pledge of their resolution to support Mr. Hunt*. It is *proper* as well as *lawful*; and any attempt to prevent it is an act of insolence. "*Loss of time*," indeed! What will it shorten the year 1831! Or, does Dr. BLACK think that all time is *lost*, during which the people are not at work to *get the means of paying taxes*? Are those, who do the work, never to have a moment's recreation? But this is a *duty*: insensible indeed would they be if they did not discharge *this duty*. Who is to fight their battles, if they will not clap on the back those who are ready to do it? Not only *now*, but, when he *goes to take his seat*, on the 3rd of February, he ought to be accompanied by an *escort of the people*. It is, however, *the people's own affair*; and to them it ought to be left; and, if it be thus left, I engage that they do that which is sensible and just.

If any one could have a right to object to the intended procession of Monday next, it would be Mr. Hunt himself; for, certainly, these demonstrations of joy add, in proportion to their solemnity and magnitude, to the weight of the burden that he is taking upon himself. For, what is the ground of all this joy? Not that he has been *elected*; not that he is a member of the thundering House; not that he can now frank letters and save postage; not that he is now protected against arrests in certain cases; oh, no! but that the people see in his having been elected a ground of confident hope of *great good to themselves*; that they see in parliament a man on whom they rely for the doing of that which no other man now in parliament will do; that, in short, he is now, to use the old saying of bawling Pitt, going to obtain for them "*indemnity for the past, and security for the future*." These are the *grounds* on which they rejoice; and, therefore, this

grand demonstration of their joy, if objected to by any-body, ought to be objected to by Mr. Hunt himself. His accepting of it augurs well as to his *intentions and determinations*; for he has too much experience not to know that those demonstrations indicate *proportionate expectations*. His accepting of the demonstration, therefore, tells us that he is prepared *for the satisfying of such expectations*. I view in the same light the RED COCK of Preston. It seems that a *game-cock* is the *Preston Crest*; and that the good fellows there had, at the close of the election, a flag representing a RED COCK, *crowing* and clapping his wings, and a YELLOW COCK (dunghill) *running away*. This is a pretty bold type, to be sure, but not too bold, the party *being resolved to act up to it*. To say that you will do that which you *can* do, and are *resolved to do*, ought not to be called *bragging*; it is simply *stating a fact*. For these reasons I approve of and applaud these processions. I recommended to Mr. O'CONNELL to be carried into the House, in 1829, by a hundred thousand men; and if he had been, he would not now have had to resent the gross affront offered to him in withholding from him a silk gown.

### POOR MAN'S FRIEND.

Chelsea, Dec. 27th, 1830.

DEAR COBBETT,

I HAVE been reading your great little work, *The Poor Man's Friend*; and I never was more deeply impressed by a statement of facts and arguments bearing on the condition of two-thirds of the population, to which condition two-thirds of the other third are rapidly verging.

I lamented, as I read, that so clear and conclusive a tract has not found its way into every family which has any share of power to redress the evils exposed. It would remove all those mistakes by which selfish and uncharitable feeling sustains so unnatural and cruel a state of Society, and probably prevent that terrible reaction which must otherwise inevitably follow the perseverance in so grinding and oppressive a system.

It seems clear that in comparison with the prices of labour for 700 years, and which prices became therefore a prescriptive right and an inheritance of the useful and producing classes, that for the last 35 years, full three millions of industrious persons have, by an adroit policy, been manœuvred out of full two SHILLINGS per day, or 36*l.* 10*s.* per annum; forming a total of 110 millions per annum, and amounting in 35 years to 3,850 millions sterling; being the very amount which the Septennial Parliaments have voted to this time in loans and taxes.

Than this fact nothing can be more certain, for during 700 years it appears on indubitable authorities that the daily pay of labourers was the 12th and 13th, and at lowest the 20th, of the price of a quarter of wheat; and that too in times when labourers were little better than serfs on the land, and wheat itself a rarer product than at present. In other articles, as mutton, beef and pork, the ratio was still higher. In short, it appears on the precedent of 700 years' practice, that within the last 35 years, labourers were entitled to 3*s.* 6*d.*, 4*s.*, 4*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* per day, instead of 1*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.*, or 2*s.* 6*d.* as a crack price.

Persons who prattle about surplus population and competition, ought to know, if they choose to know, that there may be a surplussage of drones, but that a surplussage of the producing classes is an absurd proposition, and a contradiction in terms; and with respect to excessive competition, let the Legislature so assess large farms as to double or even treble the number of farms, and we shall soon hear of a scarcity instead of a surplussage of labourers. The anti-social system of engrossing and consolidating farms, in order that speculating agriculturists (not farmers) might pay high rents, to enable landlords to pay high taxes, and thereby maintain, and even increase, their incomes, has, in its operation, fallen entirely on the producing classes. Speculators could not pay higher rents than modest working farmers, only by abridging labour of its usual recompense; and hence a deplorable state of

the country, which makes one rather wonder that submission has lasted so long, than that partial insurrections have at length taken place. I was as much gratified by your exposure of that high prerogative lawyer, Blackstone, as by other parts of your pamphlet. To judge him thoroughly you should see his *first* edition. After his promotions, he altered his work, to please Mansfield and the court party. My excellent old friend, GRANVILLE SHARPE, told me that in the case of Somerset, he went to the Mansion-house armed with an extract from his friend Blackstone, against Slavery in England. It was so conclusive that the Lord Mayor turned to the Mansion-house copy, but, to the utter confusion of honest Sharpe, no such passage was to be found. The most he could then effect was to get an adjourned hearing; and Sharpe walked straight to the house of Blackstone, who confessed that that, as well as some other passages on popular rights, had been so much objected to by some of his brother judges and persons in power, that for his own peace he had in the second edition been induced to cancel them. What a commentary on the authority of Blackstone! In fine, I thank you for your correct exposition of the condition of the producing classes, and for your able and logical advocacy of their cause. All benevolent men will thank you also, and the exposure of errors which have prevailed on the subject will inevitably have its effect on our legislators and statesmen, at least on those of them who are capable of reasoning from cause to effect; and in that case, I trust it will occasion relief to be administered, instead of coercion and cruel punishments, for some crimes which, in part and in certain respects, were venial in flesh and blood. I should have failed in duty and character, if I had foreborne, in this way and at this time, to express my sense of the value of your writings on this very interesting subject.

I am, &c. &c.,

R. PHILLIPS.

## SPECIAL COMMISSIONS!

Oh, yes! I "beheld what has passed, and is passing, in HAMPSHIRE and WILTSHIRE"! I behold it; I cannot, at present, trust my pen upon the subject; but, when I forget, or neglect, my duty with regard to it, may the God that made me instantly reduce me to dust! I am getting together all the facts relating to it; names, dates and circumstances; and that is all that I can do at present.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1830.

## BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

ADRON, W. and C., New-road, St. Pancras, and Buckingham-street, Fitzroy-square, marble-masons.

## BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, F., Creekmore, Dorsetshire, iron-founder.

BOYCHERBY, J., Darlington, Durham, linen-manufacturer.

CHARLTON, C. P., Stourton, Wiltshire, dealer.

COCKSHAW, A., Leicester, stationer.

GERARD, W., Frome, Somersetshire, Grocer.

GILL, G., Ashbridge, Somersetshire, linen-draper.

JACKSON, A. C., Horslydown, Southwark, coal-merchant.

NEALE, W., Leicester, wood-stapler.

SEAMAN, G., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, livery-stable-keeper.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1830.

## INSOLVENTS.

JAN. 3. — PADDON, F. W., Plymouth, printer.

JAN. 4. — ELLIOT, J., Holloway, carpenter.

## BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

EUMFREY, J., Manningtree, Essex, wine-merchant.

## BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

COUPLAND, C., jun., Leeds, spirit-merchant.

## BANKRUPTS.

BLINMAN, T., Bristol, brazier.

CRISP, J., Colchester, butcher.

SAYLLAR, J., Brighton, horse dealer.

BOUGHTON, M., Ipsley, Warwickshire, grocer.

JONES, D., Cynwyd, Merionethshire, victualler.

JONES, E., Canterbury, grocer.

KEY, J., Great Prescott-street, Goodman's-fields, oilman.

RETEMAYER, M., Bury-court, St. Mary-Axe, and Park-road, Clapham-road, ship-insurance-broker.

STODART, W., Freshford, Somersetshire, cloth-manufacturer.

STORRY, F. W., York, dealer.

WILSON, W., Mincing-lane, sugar-broker.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, JAN. 3.—We had a tolerably large supply of Wheat fresh in this morning from Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, when fine samples were taken off readily on the terms we noted last Monday; but all the middling and inferior sorts were rather lower than otherwise, and the stands were not quite cleared. Flour remains at our last quotations. Fine Malting Barley is in demand at an advance of full 1s. per quarter since this day se'nnight. Beans of both sorts, and Grey Peas are dull sale, at a reduction in the prices of 1s. per quarter. White Peas are rather dearer than otherwise. In Oats, or other articles, no variation.

Wheat .....	62s. to 70s.
Rye .....	28s. to 32s.
Barley .....	30s. to 37s.
— fine .....	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 44s.
— Boilers .....	45s. to 46s.
— Grey .....	30s. to 37s.
Beans, Small .....	35s. to 44s.
— Tick .....	35s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoes .....	30s. to 32s.
— Poland .....	28s. to 29s.
Flour, per sack .....	63s. to 65s.

## HOP INTELLIGENCE.

BOROUGH, Monday, Jan. 3.—There was a pretty good supply at market, and good old Hops met with a ready sale. Prices continue, however, nearly the same as this day week.

New Sussex Pockets 7l. 15s. to 8l. 15s., Kent ditto, 8l. 8s. to 14l. 14s., Essex ditto, 8l. 5s. to 10l. 5s. Bags per cwt., Sussex ditto, 7l. 7s. to 8l., ditto Kent, 3l. 3s. to 10l. 16s.—Farham fine 16l. 16s. to 20l., ditto seconds, 9l. 8s. to 15l.

## SMITHFIELD—Jan. 3.

We have to-day a larger supply than on this day se'nnight, and a better trade. Good Beef fetches more money; in a few instances about 1l. in twenty; and the whole is expected to be sold out. Sound Mutton is wanted; and the best of such, whether little or big, make 4s. or nearly, per stone. Good Downs are stated at 4s. 4d.; but a few choice pens have made something more. Beasts, 2,216; Calves, 150; Sheep, 21,176; Pigs, 190.

THURSDAY, JAN. 6.—This day's supply was throughout exceedingly limited, there not having been at any time in the morning 40 good Beasts, and comparatively few good Sheep and fat Calves in the market. The trade with prime Beef, Mutton, and Veal was

tolerably brisk; with the two former at an advance of from 2d. to 4d., and the latter generally 6d. per stone. In prices of middling and inferior Beef and Mutton, or in those of Pork, no alteration.—Prime Beef, from 3s. 4d. to 4s. 2d.; middling Beef, 2s. 6d. to 2s. 10d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 10d. to 4s. 8d.; middling Mutton, 2s. 8d. to 3s. 2d.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; Veal, 3s. 8d. to 5s. 6d.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 8lbs., to sink the offal.—Sucking Calves, from 12s. to 36s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each. Supply, as per Clerk's statement: Beasts, 135; Sheep, 2,260; Calves, 120; Pigs, 90.

#### MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 24.

The supplies are still small, the demand moderate, and the prices the same as on Monday.

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour . . . 5,710		
Wheat . . . 3,615	2,170	
Barley . . . 4,240	420	
Oats . . . 695	185	2,500

#### THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. } 82½   82½   82½   82½   82½   82½						
Cons. Ann. }						

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